Unemployment as a screening device? The effect of unemployment status on selection decisions among New Zealand recruiters.

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Abstract

The present study builds on overseas research on discrimination toward the long-term unemployed by investigating recruiter bias against the unemployed in New Zealand. While legislation exists to protect individuals against discrimination for being unemployed in New Zealand, this study examined whether unemployed job applicants were likely to be ranked lower and have fewer chances of being interviewed compared to employed candidates. A sample of 70 New Zealand hiring professionals were asked to read a job description and evaluate a sample of CVs of highly skilled employed, short-term unemployed (those unemployed for less than six months), and long-term unemployed (those unemployed for more than six months) job applicants. It was found that the short-term unemployed were more likely to be preferred to the long-term unemployed. However, employed candidates were not more likely to be preferred to either short- or long-term unemployed candidates. Gender of the candidate was found to influence the evaluation of the CVs, with an overall preference for male candidates. Although the results were not entirely as expected, they have implications in terms of support to the unemployed in the job search process.

Overview

Individuals are increasingly likely to experience one or more spells of unemployment in today's working life. Increased unemployment is related to external factors such as globalisation and advances in technology (Feldmann, 2013; Wilpert, 2009), and is most often contrary to individuals' own wishes or needs. Unemployment itself may not be problematic unless it persists and starts to cause psychological distress to the unemployed. While personal characteristics of the unemployed may act as a buffer against such distress, being out of work for an extended period takes away the essential benefits provided by employment.

Such benefits may be partly restored through reemployment (Young, 2012), which is more likely to occur if societies strive for full employment and if employers use objective parameters while screening job candidates' CVs. In some cases, qualified and experienced job candidates may be unfairly discriminated against due to personal characteristics such as gender, ethnicity, nationality or religion. In many industrialised countries, job candidates may also be screened out of a job selection process based on their unemployment status rather than on their ability (Eriksson & Lagerström, 2006; Eriksson & Rooth, 2014; Ghayad, 2013; Kollmann, 1994; Welters & Muysken, 2002).

The present study examines recent unemployment statistics in New Zealand in order to investigate the role of unemployment duration in continued unemployment. This paper also explores hiring biases among hiring professionals, and discusses unemployment discrimination in the context of the New Zealand Human Rights Act (1993) – which aims to protect workers against unemployment status discrimination. Knowing about potential discrimination against the unemployed will help to raise critical consciousness (i.e. the ability to perceive discrimination and act on it) among job seekers, so that they may better prepare themselves for the job application process. Moreover, this study's findings will inform hiring professionals – also referred to here as 'recruiters'– about the potential influence of a job

candidate's unemployment status on their selection decisions when they examine candidate information for the first time.

Introduction

Full Employment

The movement of workers in and out of employment is to be expected. Several factors determine the fluctuations in the number of people in employment, such as the number of youth entering the labour force; people becoming involuntarily unemployed; workers transitioning naturally into retirement; workers voluntarily transitioning out of a job or industry into another; and workers relocating (CBO, 2012). The rise of temporary or casual employment in recent years (Näswall, Hellgren, & Sverke, 2008) may also lead to more frequent periods of unemployment now and in the future. Indeed, fewer jobs are permanent so individuals may be more likely to become unemployed multiple times during their working life.

Although some unemployment is inevitable, it may not be considered problematic as long as *full employment* exists. Keynes' *General Theory* (1942) and Beveridge's *Full Employment in a Free Society* (1944) are widely known early theories of full employment, and were proposed in reaction to the mass unemployment generated by the Great Recession (Lee, 1997). According to such theories, full employment does not mean a lack of unemployment. Rather, it refers to an economy where some unemployment is present (Diamond, 2013), although to qualify as full employment, a number of conditions must be met. That is, the number of vacancies must be higher than the number of individuals seeking work, and the unemployed must have a reasonable chance of being very quickly reemployed in a job that matches their abilities, that is in the right location, and that is paid fairly (Beveridge, 1944, 1945). Such a set of circumstances may seem idealistic. However,

Beveridge (1944) considered full employment to be necessary for two reasons: adequate unemployment benefits become affordable (because fewer people remain unemployed for extended periods), and individuals feel as though they are participating and are useful when they are employed.

Meaning of Work

When proposing his theory of full employment, Beveridge (1944) was fully aware of the devastating effects of unemployment, and argued that income support was no remedy for the lack of activity caused by unemployment. Being able to participate through employment is considered more important than being provided financial resources (i.e. unemployment benefit) (Beveridge, 1944; Young, 2012), and surveys have shown that most unemployed individuals would accept a job at the market rate, or even lower, if the opportunity arose (Lee, 1997). Thus, although being unemployed may cause financial strain, most individuals would prefer to work even if income support was provided to mitigate this strain. Indeed, no links were found between unemployment benefits and life satisfaction (Eichhorn, 2014), and being employed fills many psychological needs.

Personal meaning is one of many psychological benefits of working, providing that opportunities for self-determination, such as autonomy, relatedness and competence are present (R. M. Ryan & Deci, 2000). In his psychology of working perspective, Blustein (2006) proposes that individuals have three fundamental needs that can be achieved through work, such as the need for survival, the need for relatedness, and the need for self-determination.

Being employed is associated with many other benefits, such as having a sense of control; a chance to use one's skills; the provision of external goals; variety; environmental clarity; money; and physical security (Warr, 1994). The latent deprivation model (Jahoda, 1997) also posits that a number of latent benefits are gained through work, the absence of

which leads to psychological distress. Such benefits include having a structure to one's time, activity, status, a sense of identity, collective purpose, and social connections.

Working is so beneficial that it may help with the rehabilitation of individuals with mental illness (Goodwin & Kennedy, 2005), a proposition which received support in recent research (Creed & Macintyre, 2001; Moser, Geithner, & Paul, 2009; Selenko, Batinic, & Paul, 2011; Stiglbauer & Batinic, 2012).

Thus, it is important to explore any barriers to reemployment, so that individuals can enjoy the benefits of being employed, while avoiding the negative effects of unemployment.

Effects of Unemployment

It is unlikely that an individual will remain out of work out of choice. Stutzer and Lalive (2004) discounted wanting more leisure time as being an incentive for staying unemployed, particularly when individuals live in communities with a strong social norm to work. In such communities, unemployed persons would suffer from having less people to interact with because the majority of people – having a strong work ethic – would perhaps feel that they have little in common with them.

Long-term unemployment may also have serious deleterious effects, such as physical and psychological distress (McKee-Ryan, Song, Wanberg, & Kinicki, 2005; Moser et al., 2009; Paul & Moser, 2009); an increase in suicidal behaviour, especially for men (Wanberg, 2012; Yur'yev, Värnik, Värnik, Sisask, & Leppik, 2012); increased rates of divorce when husbands lose their job (Eliason, 2012); increased anxiety about future job loss, reduced income, work hours, or benefits (Davis & Wachter, 2011); and even lower life expectancy (Roelfs, Shor, Davidson, & Schwartz, 2011).

Unemployment has also been found to affect the set point of satisfaction with life (Lucas, Clark, Georgellis, & Diener, 2004), defined as the minimum level of subjective well-

being. That is, although individuals react negatively to becoming unemployed, they tend to bounce back and become satisfied with life again upon reemployment. However, the former unemployed do not return to their former levels of life satisfaction, nor do they adapt to subsequent bouts of unemployment better than to their first. Rather, their set point of life satisfaction reduces through unemployment, suggesting scarring effects.

The cause of an individual's unemployment may also affect the level of psychological distress experienced by the unemployed. Individuals were found to be significantly more depressed following a lay-off compared to a company closure (Brand, Levy, & Gallo, 2008).

Involuntary unemployment is also likely to impact dramatically on an individual's everyday circumstances. Financial difficulties are likely due to a sudden drop in earnings (CBO, 2012). Even upon reemployment, an individual's earnings are likely to be lower than before their unemployment spell, a phenomenon which may last for many years (Arulampalam, 2001; Daymont, 2001; Stevens, 1997). Lower earnings also have consequences for family members, with children of unemployed fathers likely to experience reduced future earnings (Oreopoulos, Page, & Stevens, 2008). Moreover, previously unemployed workers are more likely to experience instability in terms of earnings (Oreopoulos et al., 2008).

The magnitude of this financial loss depends on contextual factors, such as the reason for a person's unemployment, and employers' appraisals of a worker's value. Indeed, a study of men displaced due to redundancy found that they suffered less subsequent loss of earnings compared to those who lost their job for other reasons (Arulampalam, 2001). Additionally, employers tend to match or pay less than the worker's last job earnings, regardless of the market rate; this lower salary level then becomes the new benchmark on which future earnings are based (Daymont, 2001). This discrepancy still continues after a period of

reemployment, when earnings should have caught up because of the worker's human capital having recovered.

Since unemployment is unlikely to provide any benefits, and can lead to serious psychological distress and continued loss of earnings, it is important to examine whether hiring discrimination is preventing individuals from having access to employment, and contributing to extended spells of unemployment.

Reasons for Unemployment

Historically, the lack of demand for goods and services has been a major cause of unemployment, especially since the Global Financial Crisis of 2008 (GFC) (CBO, 2012). Nevertheless, weak demand for labour may not always fully account for the lack of job opportunities. For example, the economy may be experiencing *structural unemployment*, which is defined as a mismatch between available jobs and jobseekers' skills; or *frictional unemployment*, defined as a period of unemployment in which workers are transitioning from one job to another (Gatzia, 2012). Recent research in the US found that around one third of the net increase in the number of unemployed between 2007 and 2011 was due to factors other than weak demand for labour, such as mismatches between what employers need and what the unemployed can offer in terms of skills; the geographical location of individuals seeking work; the presence of welfare benefits that allow the unemployed to spend a longer time searching for work; and the loss of skills caused by long-term unemployment.

Long-term unemployment may, however, be caused by employers' erroneous perceptions of the unemployed rather than supply and demand issues, and may lead to stigma effects (CBO, 2012). Being unemployed for some time may lead to long-term unemployment because employers seeking to fill jobs may use the duration of unemployment as indicative of a candidate's quality (Blanchard, 1994). Indeed, it gives employers a criterion (i.e. ‘not

currently employed') to quickly sort the potentially large number of applications generated by job openings in order to create a shortlist. By creating a shortlist, employers avoid the high cost of interviewing all of the applicants. The duration of unemployment is said to help employers determine whether a job candidate possesses the right skills, since it is assumed that high-quality candidates are less likely to remain unemployed for long (i.e. they are quickly 'snapped up') and the long-term unemployed are perceived as less employable (Kollmann, 1994).

Vicious Cycle of Prolonged Unemployment

The length of time that individuals stay unemployed may lead to negative duration dependence. That is, the longer they stay unemployed, the more likely they are to remain unemployed (Kroft, Lange, & Notowidigdo, 2013). In the US, a report by the Congressional Budget Office (CBO, 2012) concluded that long-term unemployment may cause a vicious cycle whereby employers are unwilling to employ unemployed workers, which causes those workers to stay unemployed for longer and longer periods of time as the cycle perpetuates itself. Moreover, the longer an individual remains unemployed, the more stigmatised and discouraged they become, which may feed this vicious cycle (Ayllón, 2013).

Duration dependence may be caused by *rational herding* (Kroft et al., 2013; Oberholzer-Gee, 2008), described as hiring professionals inferring the actions of other hiring professionals by using the duration of unemployment as a signal of a candidate's productivity (Lockwood, 1991). That is, recruiters may use unemployment as a proxy for the productivity that they cannot observe (Ghayad, 2013). For example, if job applicants have been out of work for some time, hiring managers will be less likely to employ them because they assume that other managers have found that this candidate is not productive. Once a critical number of hiring managers do not find it advisable to employ an applicant (e.g. because applicants have not passed their selection tests, or for other reasons), they unintentionally send a signal

to all other firms about this candidate's expected productivity, which results in other firms refusing to hire him/her (Lockwood, 1991; Oberholzer-Gee, 2008). Moreover, employers may erroneously assume that individuals who lost their last job due to redundancy must have been selected for redundancy because of their incompetence, although many factors may result in a lay-off other than a lack of worker's skill (Karren & Sherman, 2012).

A critical time comes as the end of the unemployment insurance (i.e. unemployment benefit) draws near – set at six months[1] in the US (United States Department of Labour, 2015a), compared to twelve months in New Zealand (New Zealand Work and Income, 2015). At this time, candidates' search effort is likely to increase (Ghayad, 2013). Indeed, both high- and low-productivity unemployed candidates approaching their unemployment insurance end date will increase their search efforts. However, only high-productivity candidates will be reemployed by being ranked the highest in selection tests, leaving a pool of candidates assumed to be of low productivity. Consequently, anyone in the US who remains unemployed after the critical six month insurance limit sends a negative signal to employers, who may also assume that the candidate has lost human capital in this 6-month period (Ghayad, 2013). Moreover, industry-specific experience was found to be a real advantage to individuals unemployed for less than six months. However, industry-specific experience ceased to be an advantage over non-industry-specific experience when job candidates had been unemployed for more than six months (Ghayad, 2013). The long-term unemployed (i.e. those unemployed for more than six months) in the Ghayad (2013) study needed to send around thirty-five CVs before being invited to an interview, whereas job applicants who had been unemployed for only one month needed to send only ten CVs before being invited to an interview. Such "*statistical discrimination"* by employers (i.e. employers basing their hiring

[1] unless Extended Benefits are applicable in periods of high unemployment (United States Department of Labour, 2015b)

decisions on unemployment duration) (Ghayad, 2013, p. 22) will be tested in the current study.

In New Zealand, Jobseeker Support (i.e. unemployment insurance or benefit) is paid for up to twelve months, with the option to re-apply for it. However, payments are very low in relation to the cost of living, thus negative duration dependence causes a real threat to a person's financial resources, which in turn may lead to psychological distress. Thus, it is essential to investigate ways of limiting the amount of time that individuals spend in unemployment. To this end, the current study seeks to understand which employability factors may increase an individual's chances of being reemployed – that is, how candidates are rated by recruiters on a preference scale, and how likely they are to be invited to an interview – so that unemployment is short-lived.

Employability

An important factor affecting hiring decisions is the degree to which job candidates are considered employable. Employability is not only an issue of supply (i.e. individual characteristics of workers) versus demand (e.g. characteristics of the labour market). Rather, McQuaid and Lindsay (2005) suggest that employability comprises three distinct categories that *interact* with each other, such as (1) individual factors, (2) personal circumstances, and (3) external factors. According to McQuaid and Lindsay (2005) the interaction of factors implies that an applicant may possess individual characteristics suited to the job they are applying for at a specific time, while having to comply with employers' requirements at that particular time. For example, employers may be willing to hire a certain individual in some circumstances (e.g. during a lack of labour supply), whereas they may become more selective at other times (e.g. if labour supply is plentiful) and may not be willing to hire the same individual. For the purposes of this study, employability was framed as individual factors according to Hogan, Chamorro-Premuzic, and Kaiser (2013)’s conceptualisation, and applied

in a recruitment and selection context – an external factor according to McQuaid and Lindsay (2005).

Individual Factors

Hogan et al. (2013) interviewed employers in the US to determine what characteristics employable workers should possess, and found that such workers are rewarding to deal with (R), able to do the job (A), and willing to work hard (W). These R.A.W. factors were used in the construction of the candidates' CVs in the present study.

According to McQuaid and Lindsay (2005), differences between individuals are not limited to their skills and attributes. They are also determined by other factors, such as individuals' gender, which may influence how job candidates are perceived. Indeed, the absence of work may affect men more than women since society has expectations of men as breadwinners, and as deriving their identity through work (Heppner & Heppner, 2009). Thus, when men do not work, they do not meet society's expectations and may face society's rejection. At the same time, women are encouraged from an early age to be nurturing (Blustein, 2013), and thus expected to have career breaks to have and look after children. In contrast, men are not expected – and thus less likely – to have career breaks.

Individual factors also comprise job candidates' health status (wellbeing, disability); job-seeking behaviour (e.g. knowledge of one's own strengths and weaknesses, use of networks, CV writing skills); and how adaptable and mobile they are (i.e. flexibility in terms of wages, location, occupation etc). The age of job candidates has also been shown to influence recruiters' perceptions of candidate employability (Avolio & Barrett, 1987; Wilson, Parker, & Kan, 2007), although no research has found that age had any influence on worker performance except in physical jobs (Wilson et al., 2007). In the present study, job candidates comprise males and females but other characteristics are not made apparent.

In terms of skills (i.e. ability to do the job), it has been suggested that the longer an individual is unemployed, the more likely they are to lose their job skills (i.e. skills atrophy) and become less employable (Krueger, Cramer, & Cho, 2014), because they are less likely to find a job when they have fewer skills compared to other applicants. Skills atrophy may depend on the type of job. That is, some workers may require constant exposure to new technologies while in work in order to remain up to date (e.g. information technology), and thus may be more vulnerable to skills atrophy if they are out of work.

It has also been proposed that long-term unemployment may be caused by the signalling effects of accepting a lower skilled job. For example, a highly skilled individual may prefer to remain unemployed rather than accept a lower skilled job and the negative label associated with it (Ma & Weiss, 1993), which would hinder their chances of finding skilled work again.

Ghayad (2013) proposed that attributing unemployment to a mismatch between applicant skills and job requirements may not always be justified because it has been shown that even highly experienced individuals experience difficulties getting back into work after a period of unemployment, a phenomenon which will be tested in the present study.

Personal Circumstances

Although not examined in the present study, personal circumstances may refer to individuals' home circumstances, culture at work, or opportunities to access resources, such as transport, finances, or social networks (Lindsay, McCracken, & McQuaid, 2003), all of which may negatively affect their employability. For example, care-giving responsibilities may prevent an individual from working certain shifts (e.g. nights), or a lack of transport may prevent another from accepting a job in a location not serviced by public transport. Additionally, job opportunities may be advertised through formal and informal social

networks, which the long-term unemployed may no longer have access to (e.g. colleagues, professional associations, recreational associations etc). Social networking has indeed been shown to affect chances of re-employment (Brand & Burgard, 2008).

External Factors

Some external factors (not examined in the present study) include state policies (e.g. job search assistance for the unemployed), demand factors, and other factors (e.g. whether transport options are affordable). Demand factors include labour market influences (e.g. local and regional job demand) or macroeconomic influences (e.g. national job demand); and characteristics of the vacancy (e.g. working hours) (Lindsay et al., 2003).

Other external factors explored in the present study are recruitment influences (e.g. methods used by employers to search for applicants, or discrimination), since discrimination by hiring professionals may reduce individuals' employability by causing them to stay unemployed (i.e. they experience the vicious cycle of skills atrophy – or reduced ability to do the job – as well as reduced financial and social resources etc, which cause them to stay unemployed even longer). Such discrimination may include hiring professionals using unemployment status as a screening device. Indeed, unemployment has been widely used as a screening device by hiring professionals in many countries, resulting in unemployed applicants' CVs being pulled out of the job selection process.

Attitudes as Predictors of Bias against the Unemployed

Possible causes of unconscious bias towards the unemployed, which may lead to discrimination, are the Protestant Work Ethic (PWE), and political ideology (PI).

Protestant Work Ethic

PWE is the belief that anyone can find work and succeed if they work hard, and originates from the realisation by early British settlers in America that they had to be independent and rely on themselves alone for survival (Prilleltensky & Stead, 2013). Individuals who are high in PWE believe that "anyone can pull themselves up by their bootstraps" (Levy, West, Ramirez, & Karafantis, 2006, p. 95). As such, PWE may invoke tolerance on the surface, for example as a "social equalizer" (Levy et al., 2006, p. 97). That is, anyone who works hard can succeed. However, it may invoke intolerance at the same time. That is, whoever does not succeed has not tried hard enough or is lazy, which amounts to blaming the victim (W. Ryan, 1971). PWE essentially implies that all individuals have agency and are free to improve their work circumstances when they choose to, a belief that ensures the maintenance of the status quo for those who benefit from it (Prilleltensky & Stead, 2013). As such, PWE justifies inequalities, since the only factor that differentiates between people is effort (Levy et al., 2006), and also contributes to the myth of meritocracy (Rossides, 1997). Consequently, individuals high in PWE may be more likely to discriminate against the unemployed, since they may see unemployed individuals as not trying hard enough to find a job.

Political Ideology

Similarly, political ideology may explain attitudes towards the unemployed. Political-economic conservatism is widely known to predict social and political attitudes, and candidate preference (Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, & Malle, 1994). Pratto et al. (1994) generally posit that political-economic conservatism is a legitimizing myth that serves to separate people into different categories, some of whom deserve positive social value (e.g. tax exemptions, school funding etc), whereas others deserve negative social value (e.g. dismissal, time in prison etc). Skitka, Mullen, Griffin, Hutchinson, and Chamberlin (2002) also found that individuals who attribute the causes of someone's behaviours or situation to the person are more likely to be conservative, whereas those who attribute the causes of someone's behaviours or situation to the situation, rather than to the individual, are more likely to be liberal. Consequently, it is possible that political ideology has an influence in the screening of job candidates. Indeed, conservatives may be more likely to discriminate against the unemployed, since they may consider that the person is at fault if they are unemployed.

The New Zealand Context

The characteristics of the unemployed in New Zealand are examined next, to provide a basis for comparison with other countries, such as the US, where most unemployment research has been conducted. Unemployment will be defined here as it applies in New Zealand. Rates of unemployment will be presented, and comparisons made between New Zealand and other countries. Evidence of unemployment duration dependence will also be discussed.

Definitions of Unemployment in New Zealand

The working-age population in New Zealand comprises two categories: (1) individuals in the *labour force,* and (2) those *not in the labour force* (Statistics New Zealand, 2015b). The labour force itself includes the *employed* as well as the *unemployed.* See Figure 1 for an overview of the labour market[1].

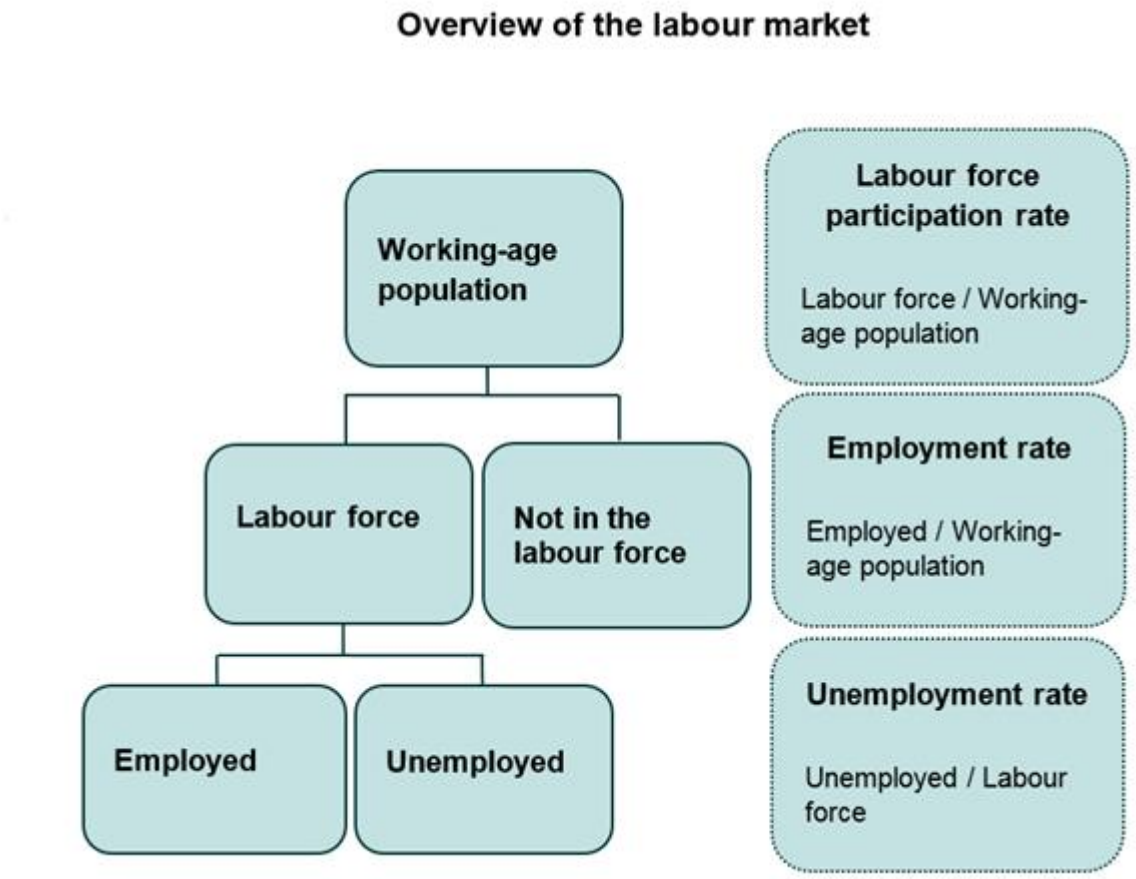

Figure 1. Overview of the Labour Market

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[1]From Statistics New Zealand (2015b). Labour market statistics: September 2015 quarter

In New Zealand, the unemployed include all people in the working-age population who, during the reference week: were without a paid job; were available for work, and; either actively sought work in the four weeks ending with the reference week, or had a job to start within the next four weeks (Statistics New Zealand, 2015b). Appendix A includes definitions

of other terms used in this study. For example, this study does not deal with issues associated with being jobless or not in the labour force, both distinct from being unemployed.

Several measures have been used to count the unemployed. However, Statistics New Zealand's Labour Market Statistics series is the official measure of unemployment in New Zealand (Statistics New Zealand, 2014). This series contains the Household Labour Force Survey (HLFS: estimates of employment, unemployment, and people not in the labour force), the Quarterly Employment Survey (QES) and the Labour Cost Index (LCI). In this study, we focus on statistics for the *unemployed, in the labour force* from the HLFS. Statistics provided by this survey are not to be confused with other unemployment statistics, such as the Ministry of Social Development's benefit data or job seekers register (note that the latter was used as the measure of unemployment in the past). The HLFS is a sample survey with a reference period of one week, which provides statistics of the unemployed as well as the jobless. The number of unemployed individuals in the HLFS is seasonally adjusted (using a breakdown by males, females and total for both sexes) to ensure that any seasonal effects are minimised. This allows for the observation of trends and comparisons from quarter to quarter.

The following statistics include recent unemployment in New Zealand compared to OECD countries and the United States. The United States were selected for comparison because much unemployment research has been conducted there.

Annual Changes

In the year from September 2014 to September 2015, the rate of unemployment in New Zealand increased by 0.4% to 6.0% (Statistics New Zealand, 2015b). Between September 2014 and September 2015 there were 10,500 more individuals counted as unemployed, representing a 10.5% increase to 151,000.

In the September 2015 quarter, seasonally adjusted figures showed that the labour force represented 2,498,000 individuals, out of a working-age population of 3,638,000 individuals (i.e. labour force participation rate = 68.6%). Within the labour force, 2,347,000 individuals were employed (i.e. employment rate = 64.5%) and 151,000 were unemployed (i.e. unemployment rate = 6.0%). There were 1,141,000 individuals not in the labour force, representing 31.4% of the working-age population, some of which may include formally unemployed persons who have become discouraged and are no longer looking for work.

There were 4,400 more unemployed men (compared to September 2014), and 1,500 less unemployed women, leading to a 0.4% increase in the unemployment rate for men (to 5.6%) compared to a decrease of 0.1% in the unemployment rate for women (to 6.6%). Thus, although fewer women became unemployed in the past year, there are still more unemployed women than unemployed men.

In terms of unemployment by age group, Table 1 shows that young people under the age of 25 years are more likely to be unemployed than people over the age of 25, perhaps due to a lack of qualifications or due to low educational attainment. Note that the working age is 15 years and over, and individuals classed as unemployed do not include those in education or training.

Table 1

Unemployment Rate by Age Group in New Zealand - September 2015

Age Group - in Years	Unemployment Rate
15-19	21.8%
20-24	11.8%
25-29	7.2%
30-34	5.0%
35-39	3.8%
40-44	4.2%
45-49	3.5%
50-54	3.5%
55-59	4.7%
60-64	3.3%
65+	1.7%

Adapted from Statistics New Zealand (2015a)

As Table 2 shows, the percentage of unemployed individuals without any formal qualification is the highest (9.3%) compared to those with a qualification (3.9%). Women are also overrepresented in each category.

Table 2

Unemployment Rate by Sex by Qualification Gained for Persons Unemployed in the Labour Force in New Zealand (Annual-Sep 2015)

Qualification Gained	Male	Female	Total Both Sexes
No Qualification	8.7%	10%	9.3%
School Qualification	7%	8.1%	7.6%
Post School but No School Qualification	4.8%	10.5%	7.1%
Qualification	3.5%	4.3%	3.9%
Not Specified	6.6%	6.9%	6.7%

Adapted from Statistics New Zealand (2015a)

International Comparisons

With a 6% unemployment rate in the third quarter of 2015, New Zealand is placed 15th out of 34 OECD countries, ahead of Australia (6.2%). Japan has the lowest unemployment rate (3.4%), and Greece has the highest (25.2%).

In the fourth quarter of 2014 in the US, 31.6% unemployed individuals had been without a job for 27 weeks or more (United States Bureau of Labour Statistics, 2015), compared to 25.1% in New Zealand in the same period; and 22.6% unemployed Americans had been out of work for 52 weeks or more, compared to 15.7% unemployed New Zealanders. Table 3 shows that, in New Zealand, the number of individuals staying unemployed tends to gradually reduce with time, with 23% being unemployed between 1 to 4 weeks in the third quarter of 2015, compared to 10% being unemployed for up to 3 months. However, the number of individuals still out of work increases after 3 months of unemployment, and peaks for individuals still unemployed between 6 and 12 months, before reducing again after 12 months (see shaded rows in Table 3).

Table 3

Number of Unemployed by Sex by Duration of Unemployment in New Zealand (Annual-September 2015)

	Male	Female	Both Sexes	
Duration of Unemployment	Number in Thousands		Total	Percentage
1 - 4 Weeks	16.7	17.3	33.9	23%
5 - 8 Weeks	8.5	9.6	18.1	12%
9 - 13 Weeks	6.5	8.3	14.8	10%
14 - 26 Weeks	9.4	10.6	20.1	14%
27 - 52 Weeks	10.9	13.9	24.7	17%
53 Weeks and Over	8.2	8.7	17	12%
Not Specified	8.8	9.1	17.9	12%
Total	69.1	77.4	146.5	

Adapted from Statistics New Zealand (2015a)

These figures suggest negative duration dependence after three months of unemployment. Moreover, although in comparison to the US, fewer New Zealanders remain unemployed for six months or more, they constitute the second largest proportion of unemployed persons. Some of the reduction in the percentage of unemployed persons still looking for work after twelve months may also be explained by some unemployed individuals leaving the labour force because they have become discouraged.

Reasons for unemployment

Individuals become unemployed or leave work for a variety of reasons in New Zealand (Statistics New Zealand, 2015a). In September 2015, 14.5% unemployed persons had been laid off; 28.9% had finished temporary or seasonal work, or their contract had ended – thus suggesting a large influence of temporary work causing spells of unemployment; 9.4% had left their jobs due to unsatisfactory work conditions; 6.6% due to ill health or injury; 7.1% had returned to studies; 9.9% had left the workforce due to family responsibilities or pregnancy; and 7.9% had moved house, were travelling, or their spouse had transferred to a different location.

The Present Study

New Zealand figures suggest that, although New Zealand's unemployment rate is lower than in other countries, individuals are likely to experience unemployment spells for a variety of reasons, and are likely to remain unemployed if they are out of work for more than 3 months. This study explores whether hiring discrimination on the grounds of unemployment status occurs in New Zealand when other likely sources of hiring discrimination are controlled for. Of particular interest is the influence of unemployment duration, since the unemployed may be ‘trapped’ into unemployment for longer due to hiring professionals selecting them ‘out’ of the job application process.

In the United States, discriminating against the unemployed is not illegal – except in New York City, New Jersey, Oregon, and the District of Columbia (Frasch, 2014) – and press and blog articles (L. Ryan, 2014) frequently report cases of hiring discrimination against the unemployed. Recent studies have also shown that European employers use unemployment as a screening device (Eriksson & Rooth, 2014; Oberholzer-Gee, 2008; Welters & Muysken, 2002). In New Zealand, individuals are protected against discrimination for "being unemployed" (Human Rights Act, 1993), but it may be very difficult for a rejected unemployed applicant to sue an organisation for discrimination if recruiters offer other explanations for their decision to reject the applicant. Moreover, court cases may focus on other, more salient discrimination sources, such as age, gender, or ethnicity, which may result in discrimination for 'being unemployed' going 'under the radar'. A recent ongoing case in New Zealand has highlighted alleged discrimination against a job applicant on the grounds of age and being unemployed (New Zealand Ministry of Justice, 2015).

The current study explores what characteristics of hiring professionals – whether they are agents working on behalf of employers, or employers themselves – may predispose them to negatively evaluate the unemployed, whether this bias is conscious or unconscious. Specifically, this paper examines the influence of job applicants' (also referred to as candidates) employment status (first independent variable) and gender (second independent variable) on hiring professionals' ranking of the candidates (first dependent variable), and on their estimated likelihood of inviting candidates to an interview (second dependent variable).

Control variables will also be tested, such as hiring professionals' individual characteristics (i.e. level of PWE, PI) and job candidates' R.A.W. factors (i.e. Rewarding to deal with, Able to do the job, and Willing to work hard). Thus, the following hypotheses will be tested:

Unemployment Status as a Screening Device

Employed candidates were compared against unemployed candidates (whether short- or long-term) to investigate whether employed candidates were preferred to unemployed candidates.

Hypothesis 1: Hiring professionals are likely to rank employed applicants – in terms of preference for the job – higher than unemployed applicants, regardless of length of unemployment.

Hypothesis 2: Hiring professionals are more likely to invite employed applicants to a job interview than unemployed applicants, regardless of length of unemployment.

Signalling effect of Long-Term Unemployment

CVs were presented with two levels of unemployment duration (i.e. short-term – less than six months; or long-term – more than six months) to examine whether the duration of unemployment had any effect on the evaluation of candidates' CVs.

Hypothesis 3: Hiring professionals are likely to rank short-term unemployed applicants higher than long-term unemployed applicants.

Hypothesis 4: Hiring professionals are more likely to invite short-term unemployed applicants to a job interview than long-term unemployed applicants.

Gender Bias

Both male and female candidates were included in the CVs to control for any bias regarding the sex of the candidate, due to traditional gender roles considering males as breadwinners and females as care-givers, which may negatively affect unemployed men.

Hypothesis 5: Hiring professionals are likely to rank female unemployed applicants higher than male unemployed applicants.

Hypothesis 6: Hiring professionals are more likely to invite female unemployed applicants to an interview than male unemployed applicants.

Individual Employability Factors

CVs were constructed in a way that presented all candidates as highly able to do the job, without showing other personal attributes, such as being rewarding to deal with or willing to work hard. Neither ability nor personal attributes were expected to be rated differently between candidates.

Hypothesis 7a: Candidates in this study will be rated as equally rewarding to deal with.

Hypothesis 7b: Candidates in this study will be rated as equally able to do the job.

Hypothesis 7c: Candidates in this study will be rated as equally willing to work hard.

Control Variables

Although no hypothesis is specified, PWE and PI will be included as control variables since previous research has shown that they influence attitudes related to work (i.e. PWE) and candidate preference (i.e. PI).

Recruiters' levels of PWE and PI may influence their evaluations of unemployed job candidates, which may affect their preference rankings and invite to interview ratings.

Method

Participants

Participants were recruited in three stages, with advertisements (see Appendix B for an example) posted to the following: (1) the Human Resources Institute of New Zealand (HRINZ) on 18th August 2015 via email; (2) IOnet, the Google discussion group for the Industrial Psychology branch of the New Zealand Psychological Society (NZPsS) on 25th August 2015; (3) CDANZ (Career Development Association of New Zealand) on 8th September (using a LinkedIn Pulse post also visible to the researcher's LinkedIn contacts).

An information sheet on the first page of the survey (see Appendix C) provided participants with a rationale for conducting the study, as well as the following consent statement "by completing and submitting the questionnaire it will be understood that you have consented to participate in the project." 122 recruitment and selection professionals were recruited, using email and social media to advertise the survey, in the winter months of August and September 2015 in New Zealand. 4 participants were automatically removed from the study due to ineligibility (i.e. not recruiting for jobs based in New Zealand), and 47 participants partially completed the survey but did not submit their responses.

After the removal of one outlier (see results section for details), the remaining sample who completed and submitted their survey comprised 70 participants, of which 17 (24.3%) were male and 53 (75.7%) were female. The mean age was 40.20 years (*SD* = 10.94), with participants ranging from 22 to 67 years of age. Of the participants who indicated their ethnic background, 84.3% identified as New Zealand European; 4.3% as Maori; 2.9% as Samoan; 1.4% as Cook Island Maori; 1.4% as Chinese; and 14.3% as 'other'. 84.3% of participants indicated that they were currently working in recruitment and selection, with the remaining 15.7% not currently working in this field. With regards to their current or past work in recruitment and selection specifically, the majority of participants (57.1%) were employers (i.e. worked in internal recruitment); 37.1% worked in recruitment agencies (i.e. external recruitment); and 5.7% of participants worked for another type of organisation. Participants had been working specifically in recruitment and selection for an average of 9.17 years. 17.1% of respondents screened CVs as their main role. A majority of participants (85.5%) used CVs as their main method to screen candidates, with only 1.4% using mainly application forms (i.e. application blanks), and 13% using a mixture of CV and application forms, and/or other methods.

Participants were eligible to enter a prize draw as a reward for participating. The winner of the competition was notified via email on 30th October 2015. The main survey (referred to as 'survey') and the prize draw survey (referred to as 'competition survey') were kept separate to ensure participants' anonymity. To be eligible to take part in the study, participants were required to work, or have worked, as recruitment and selection professionals, either in recruitment agencies (referred to as 'external recruitment') or within organisations (referred to as 'internal recruitment').

Procedure

Participants were invited to participate in the online study titled "First Impressions Count: impact of CV on recruiters' perceptions of candidates' employability." Participants were sent an email or social media notification containing a link to the Qualtrics survey. Once they clicked on the link, they were provided with a general description of the purpose of the study. They were then requested to answer demographic, PWE and PI questions, and review the Job Description/Person Specification for the position of Training and Development Specialist. Each participant received the same initial questions (see *Part 1 Demographics, PWE, PI;* and *Part 2 Job Description/Person Specification* in *Measures*). Participants were asked to review six CVs separately, and answer employability questions (i.e. based on the R.A.W. factors – see *Part 2 Employability* in *Measures*) after each CV (first manipulation check. Note that CVs were presented randomly to avoid order effects.

A unique, downloadable, combined PDF file of all six CVs was then presented (referred to as 'combined CVs'). Participants were asked to compare all six CVs, and rank the candidates in terms of preference for the position of Training & Development Specialist. Following this, participants were asked to make a decision on how likely they would be to invite each candidate for a job interview. Participants were asked to explain their ranking and invitation to interview choices, and provide their personal opinions about CV making (see *Part 2 Additional Questions* in *Measures*).

The second, main manipulation check question was presented, followed by the debrief sheet (see Appendix D). Participants then had the opportunity to submit their questionnaire. After submitting their questionnaire, participants received a screen message inviting them to enter their email details in the separate competition survey.

In order to encourage participation, the survey was kept as short as possible (i.e. 30 minutes), and was administered online for convenience. Responses were exported to SPSS.

Measures

The survey was created in two parts as follows (see Appendix E.1. for all survey questions):

Part 1

Demographics

A number of demographic questions were included to determine the sample's characteristics. Questions related to gender, age, educational level, religion, ethnicity, organisation type, area of recruitment (i.e. internal or external), industry recruiting for, employment (e.g. duration, status, job tenure), proportion of time (daily, weekly etc) spent screening CVs, and main method used to screen applicants (e.g. CV, application form, other). See Appendix E.2. for details of demographic categories and results.

Protestant Work Ethic

The questionnaire included eleven items used by Katz and Hass (1988) to measure the Protestant Work Ethic (PWE). These items are a short version of the 19-item scale by Mirels and Garrett (1971). In Katz and Hass (1988), the short scale had an alpha coefficient of .76, and a correlation of .93 with the full scale, the validity of which has been reported in several studies. Likert scale points ranged from 1 = strongly disagree, to 6 = strongly agree. The 11-item scale showed good reliability, $\alpha = .77$. It was found that removing items would not improve the reliability of the scale. Results show that participants had average PWE ratings of $M = 3.38$ ($SD = .57$) out of a maximum of 6. Participant scores ranged from 1.91 to 4.64, with a good level of skewness (-.042), showing a normal distribution with a value close to zero (Field, 2009). However, the level of kurtosis was away from zero (-.464), indicating a flat distribution.

Political Ideology

The following question, based on the *political-economic conservatism* scale by Pratto et al. (1994) was included: "how liberal (left-wing) or conservative (right-wing) do you consider yourself in the following domains?" Three domains included social, economic, and foreign policy issues. In Pratto et al. (1994), the scale showed good internal reliability with an average alpha coefficient of .78 across several samples. Likert scale points ranged from 1 = very liberal, to 7 = very conservative. The three-item scale showed good reliability, $\alpha = .81$. It was found that removing items would not improve the reliability of the scale. Results showed that participants had average ratings of $M = 3.78$ ($SD = 1.09$) out of a maximum of 7. Participant scores ranged from 1 to 6, with an acceptable level of skewness (-.289), although the level of kurtosis was away from zero (.422), indicating a flat distribution.

Part 2

Job Description/Person Specification

A unique, downloadable, one-page PDF file was created, containing background information about the fictitious recruiting organisation, as well as a combined job description and person specification for the position of 'Training and Development Specialist' (see Appendix F), using information from O*Net (2015). The US website O*Net was selected because it is widely recognized as a valid source of job information. The position of Training and Development Specialist was selected because it is a skilled job that is relevant to any industry type, making it easier for participants recruiting in any industry to understand and quickly relate to.

CVs

Six short fictitious CVs were created (see Appendix G) using a within-subjects 2x3 design. Experimental variables consisted of sex of the candidate (Male, Female) and candidates' employment status (Employed, Unemployed less than 6 months, Unemployed more than 6 months). A pilot study determined whether the information and instructions provided were clear, whether the CVs were of similar quality for the position of Training & Development Specialist, and whether it was practical for participants to complete the study within 30 minutes.

The CVs were inserted directly into the Qualtrics survey as questions to ensure that participants could only view one CV at a time (i.e. there was no provision of a back button, or possibility to download the CV files). All six CVs were created to show a good fit for the job of Training and Development Specialist, and included industry-specific experience in either teaching, psychology or business to match job description requirements. Three pilots tests were conducted (this included two recruitment and selection professionals), and amendments were made to the survey accordingly. All six CVs looked comparable in terms of candidate quality, while still appearing different in terms of page formatting. For example, applicants' skills, knowledge, and education were matched to those of a typical Training and Development Specialist (O*Net, 2015; United States Bureau of Labour Statistics), their implied age was similar (i.e. although the candidates' age was not stated, all had completed their first degrees between 2002 and 2004), and duration of work history was comparable (i.e. all had between two and four employers). The layout was slightly varied; for example, some CVs showed a career overview at the top, followed by separate details of roles and responsibilities, such as candidate Natalie Wood (see Appendix G.1.), while others showed a sequence of dates employed, roles and responsibilities for each employer, such as candidate Georgia McCarthy (see Appendix G.3.). English sounding names, and names of New Zealand

Universities and degrees were used to avoid confounding effects relating to ethnicity and place of origin biases. The main difference between the CVs was the presence of absence or unemployment, as well as two different types of unemployment (i.e. less than, or more than six months). Following feedback from the pilot studies, dates of employment and education were made bold to make them stand out. CVs were balanced in terms of gender and employment status as follows: Female Employed (FEmp) (see Appendix G.6.); Male Employed (MEmp) (see Appendix G.2.); Female Unemployed less than 6 months (FU6-) (see Appendix G.3.); Male Unemployed less than 6 months (MU6-) (see Appendix G.4.); Female Unemployed more than 6 months (FU6+) (see Appendix G.1.); and Male Unemployed more than 6 months (MU6+) (see Appendix G.5.). Two experienced recruitment and selection professionals confirmed that the CVs were comparable in terms of relevant skills and experience for the position of Training and Development Specialist. The CVs were counterbalanced between participants so that each candidate appeared in a different order for each new participant taking the survey.

Employability

Each CV was followed by six statements relating to perceptions of employability, created for the purposes of this study, based on the principles of the R.A.W. model of employability (i.e. Rewarding to deal with, Able to do the job, Willing to work hard) (Hogan et al., 2013). R.A.W. questions were included partly as a manipulation check to ensure that all candidates were perceived as being of similar, high ability ('A'). The 'R' (Rewarding to deal with) and 'W'(Willing to work hard) aspects were intentionally not made apparent in the CVs so that the CVs only showcased ability rather than interpersonal aspects. Interpersonal aspects are more likely to be subjectively appraised by a recruiter, compared to ability which can be objectively appraised. Participants were required to indicate how much they agreed or

disagreed with the statements, using Likert scale points from 1 = strongly disagree, to 5 = strongly agree. Two statements related to the candidate being rewarding to deal with, such as "This person will make a good team member", and "I can see this person having good relationships at work". Two statements related to the candidate's ability to do the job, such as "This person possesses the right skills to do the job", and "This person is well qualified for the job". Two statements indicated that the candidate was willing to work hard, such as "This person is a hard worker", and "This person has a strong work ethic".

The mean of each of the R.A.W. factors was calculated for each candidate. On the scale of 1 = strongly disagree, to 5 = strongly agree, results showed ratings for the variable 'rewarding to deal with' close to a value of 3 (i.e. corresponding to 'neither agree nor disagree'), with scores ranging from M = 3.17 (SD = .36) for the employed male, to M = 3.32 (SD = .49) for the employed female. Results showed a slightly larger range of ratings for the variable 'willing to work hard', with scores from M = 3.18 (SD = .47) for the employed male, to M = 3.41 (SD = .57) for the short-term unemployed female. Results showed a more pronounced difference between the candidates for the variable 'able to do the job', with scores ranging from M = 3.48 (SD = .86) for the long-term unemployed female, to M = 4.23 (SD = .68) for the short-term unemployed female. The significance of these results will be tested using mixed model analyses.

Factor analysis of the R.A.W. factors using Oblimin rotation revealed between two and three factors depending on the candidate. Note that these scales are a preliminary measure of employability, created specifically for this study. Thus, further research is required to validate the scales.

Table 4 shows that the scales for each of the R.A.W. factors showed good reliability.

Table 4

Reliability Analysis of R.A.W. Factor Scales

R.A.W. Factor	Reliability α
Rewarding to deal with	.89
Able to do the job	.80
Willing to work hard	.94

Combined CVs

After the six CVs were assessed individually, a file comprising all the CVs together was presented. CVs appeared in the following mixed order, to prevent order effects based on unemployment status: Female Unemployed more than 6 months (FU6+), Male Employed (MEmp), Female Unemployed less than 6 months (FU6-), Male Unemployed less than 6 months (MU6-), Male Unemployed more than 6 months (MU6+), and Female Employed (FEmp).

CV Ranking

One question asked participants to rank the CVs in order of preference for the position of Training and Development Specialist, such as "Having reviewed all the above CVs, please rank the candidates in order of preference for the job of Training & Development Specialist". A forced response format was used, with only one ranking number possible for all six CVs. Likert scale points ranged from 1 = favourite, to 6 = least favourite.

Invitation to Interview

One question asked participants how likely they would be to invite each candidate for a job interview, using Likert scales from 1 = very unlikely, to 7 = very likely.

Additional Questions

There were additional questions inviting participants to comment on their choices and to offer suggestions about CV construction (see Appendix H).

Main Manipulation Check

The following open text-entry question was used as a manipulation check: “Please describe what you think this research project is about”.

Outliers in Ranking and Invitation to Interview Ratings

Results show that one case was a consistent outlier in 4 out of 6 candidate rankings and invitation to interview ratings when using PWE as a predictor. Scores for this participant were well outside the standard error measurement of other participants (see Appendix I for an example box plot). Thus, this case was removed from further analyses, resulting in an effective sample of 70 participants.

Data Analysis

Before proceeding to the testing of the study hypotheses, data was restructured as long-form data so that each participant had one row for each observation/CV; specifically, there are six rows of data per participant, with each row representing a separate observation – i.e. ranking and invitation to interview (referred to as ‘invite’) x 6 candidates.

Mixed linear model analysis (also called multilevel analysis, or MLM) was used to examine potential differences in the ranking of applicants and likelihood to invite applicants for an interview, while taking control variables into account. A multilevel linear analysis was used for this data because the dataset is hierarchically structured; specifically, with ratings at level 1 (e.g. CV ranking and invite) nested within participant at level 2. Such a model can

allow for the estimation of intercepts and regression slopes that vary between individuals. As such, the model does not require certain assumptions to be met, such as homogeneity of regression slopes, independence of errors, and non-missing data (see Hopstaken, van der Linden, Bakker, Kompier, and Leung (2016) for an example of multilevel linear analysis).

Moreover, this method controls for the nested nature of the data and provides more accurate standard errors. This type of analysis was also appropriate to use in the present study because the number of parameters (e.g. employed male, employed female etc) normally requires a larger sample, that is, 20 participants per condition. Since there are six conditions (2x3 factorial design), the sample size needed to comprise at least 120 participants, which was not achieved. Additionally, some distributions showed a lack of homogeneity of regression slopes, and some data was missing in some of the variables.

Results

To determine whether any differences existed between participants with regards to their candidate rankings and invitation to interview ratings, mixed linear model analyses were conducted in two stages for each of the dependent variables 'ranking' and 'invite'. First, a two-factor mixed linear model analysis was conducted, comprising candidates' employment status (employed, unemployed less than six months, and unemployed more than six months) – i.e. between-subject factor – and candidates' gender (labelled 'sex of the candidate' to differentiate it from participants' gender) – i.e. within-subject factor. Intercepts were allowed to vary. Second, the two control variables (i.e. participants' PWE and PI levels) were added separately as covariates to the mixed linear model analysis. Participants' gender was also added as a covariate, although not hypothesized to have an influence on candidate evaluations, and despite participants comprising only 17 males for 53 females.

Hypothesis Testing

Ranking

Results showed significant effects of sex of the candidate on candidate ranking – with males ranked higher than females; as well as employment status – with the short-term unemployed ranked higher than both the long-term unemployed and the employed. A two-way interaction was also revealed between sex of the candidate and employment status – with the short-term unemployed female being ranked the highest, and the employed female being ranked the lowest (as shown in Table 5 and Table 6 – note that lower scores indicate higher rankings). Although no hypothesis had been formulated, gender of the candidate was added as a control variable to test its influence on the evaluation of candidates. Interactions were tested between the control variables (i.e. PWE, PI, and participant gender) and the conditions but none were significant (see Appendix J). Note that participants had to choose a single ranking between 1 and 6 for each candidate, thus random intercept variance was redundant and was not estimated for this analysis.

Table 5

Fixed Effects of Predictors on Candidate Ranking with Control Variables

	No Control Variable		Control Variables					
			PWE		PI		Participant Gender	
Parameter	Est	SE	Est	SE	Est	SE	Est	SE
Fixed Effects								
Intercept	4.07**	.19	5.05**	1.13	4.36**	.68	3.50**	.79
Sex of Candidate								
Male	-.68*	.27	-2.02	1.60	-.91	.97	.77	1.12
CV Employment Status								
Employed	.31	.27	-2.70	1.60	-.05	.97	1.63	1.12
U6-	-1.63**	.27	-2.76	1.60	-2.05*	.97	-1.53	1.12
Interaction Sex of Candidate * CV Employment Status								
Male Employed	.01	.38	3.53	2.27	.22	1.37	-1.93	1.58
Male U6-	1.24**	.38	4.13	2.27	1.57	1.37	-.55	1.58
Control Variables								
Mean_PWE			-.29	.33				
Mean_PI					-.07	.17		
Participant Gender							.33	.44
Variance Components								
Random intercept variance	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Residual variance	2.49**	.17	2.46**	.17	2.49**	.17	2.47**	.17

Females and the Unemployed > 6 months (U6+) were reference groups. Male indicates the difference between men and women. Employed indicates the difference between Employed and U6+. Unemployed < 6 months (U6-) indicates the difference between U6- and U6+. *p < .05, **p < .01. Random intercept variance was redundant.

Table 6

Estimates of Candidate Rankings by Sex of the Candidate and CV Employment Status without Control Variables

Candidate	Mean	95% CI	
		Lower Bound	Upper Bound
FU6-	2.44 (.19)	2.07	2.81
MU6-	3.00 (.19)	2.63	3.37
MU6+	3.39 (.19)	3.01	3.76
MEmp	3.71 (.19)	3.34	4.08
FU6+	4.07 (.19)	3.70	4.44
FEmp	4.39 (.19)	4.01	4.76

Invitation to Interview

Results showed significant effects of sex of the candidate on invite ratings – with men more likely to be invited than women; as well as employment status – with the short-term unemployed more likely to be invited than both the long-term unemployed and the employed. A two-way interaction was also found between sex of the candidate and employment status (see Table 7) – with the short-term unemployed female most likely to be invited to an interview, and the employed female least likely to be invited (see Table 8 – note that higher scores indicate a greater likelihood to invite). Interactions were tested between the control variables and the conditions but none were significant (see Appendix K for these results). Intercept variance was revealed, although not significant (see Table 7).

Table 7

Fixed Effects of Predictors on Invitation to Interview Ratings with Control Variables

	No Control Variable		Control Variables					
			PWE		PI		Participant Gender	
Parameter	Est	SE	Est	SE	Est	SE	Est	SE
Fixed Effects								
Intercept	4.51**	.20	3.62**	1.23	2.94**	.73	5.91**	.85
Sex of Candidate								
Male	.84**	.28	1.77	1.70	1.54	1.01	-1.52	1.18
CV Employment Status								
Employed	-.58*	.28	.26	1.70	-.55	1.01	-1.14	1.18
U6-	1.61**	.29	3.82*	1.70	3.44**	1.01	.60	1.18
Interaction Sex of Candidate * CV Employment Status								
Male x Employed	.26	.40	-.54	2.40	1.13	1.43	2.12	1.67
Male x U6-	-1.38**	.40	-4.78*	2.40	-2.72∧	1.43	1.15	1.67
Control Variables								
Mean_PWE			.26	.36				
Mean_PI					.41*	.18		
Participant Gender							-.80	.47
Variance Components								
Random intercept variance	.12	.10	.12	.10	.09	.10	.12	.10
Residual variance	2.77**	.21	2.75**	.21	2.72**	.20	2.73**	.21

Females and the Unemployed > 6 months (U6+) were reference groups. Male indicates the difference between men and women. Employed indicates the difference between Employed and U6+. Unemployed < 6 months (U6-) indicates the difference between U6- and U6+.
∧ p < .10, *p < .05, **p < .01.

Table 8

Estimates of Invitation to Interview Ratings by Sex of the Candidate and CV Employment Status without Control Variables

Candidate	Mean (Standard Error)	95% CI	
		Lower Bound	Upper Bound
FU6-	6.13 (.20)	5.73	6.53
MU6-	5.59 (.20)	5.19	5.98
MU6+	5.36 (.20)	4.96	5.76
MEmp	5.03 (.20)	4.63	5.43
FU6+	4.51 (.20)	4.11	4.91
FEmp	3.93 (.20)	3.53	4.33

Next, mixed model analyses were conducted to examine differences in participants' ratings of candidates' employability factors (i.e. R.A.W. – Rewarding to deal with, Able to do the job, and Willing to work hard) according to candidates' gender (i.e. sex of the candidate) and employment status.

Rewarding to deal with

An interaction was found between sex of the candidate and employment status on participants' ratings of candidates being rewarding to deal with (see Table 9). Although the employed male was rated significantly lower than all the other candidates, the differences were very small and all ratings were in the 'neither agree nor disagree' range, that is, between $M = 3.17$ ($SD = .05$) and $M = 3.32$ ($SD = .05$). Significant random intercept variance was found, suggesting that the average level of the ratings varied between participants (see Table 9).

Table 9

Fixed Effects of Predictors on Rewarding to Deal With Ratings

Parameter	Estimate	Standard Error	t-value
Fixed Effects			
Sex of Candidate			
Male	.03	.05	.53
CV Employment Status			
Employed	.09	.05	1.74
U6-	.08	.05	1.60
Interaction Sex of Candidate * CV Employment Status			
Male Employed	-.18	.07	-2.36*
Male U6-	-.10	.07	-1.32
Variance Components			
Random intercept variance	.10**	.02	
Residual variance	.10**	.01	

Females and the Unemployed > 6 months (U6+) were reference groups. Male indicates the difference between men and women. Employed indicates the difference between Employed and U6+. Unemployed < 6 months (U6-) indicates the difference between U6- and U6+. *p < .05, **p < .01.

Able to do the job

Results showed significant effects of sex of the candidate and employment status on ratings of candidates' ability to do the job, as well as an interaction between sex of the candidate and employment status (see Table 10) – with the short-term unemployed female rated as most able to do the job (see Table 11). Significant random intercept variance was found (see Table 10).

Table 10

Fixed Effects of Predictors on Ability to do the Job Ratings

Parameter	Estimate	Standard Error	t-value
Fixed Effects			
Sex of Candidate			
Male	.44**	.10	4.18
CV Employment Status			
Employed	.11	.10	1.01
U6-	.76**	.10	7.14
Interaction Sex of Candidate * CV Employment Status			
Male Employed	-.22	.15	-1.48
MU6-	-.71**	.15	-4.77
Variance Components			
Random intercept variance	.39**	.03	
Residual variance	.13**	.03	

Females and the Unemployed > 6 months (U6+) were reference groups. Male indicates the difference between men and women. Employed indicates the difference between Employed and U6+. Unemployed < 6 months (U6-) indicates the difference between U6- and U6+. *p < .05, **p < .01.

Table 11

Estimates of Candidate Ability to do the Job Ratings by Sex of the Candidate and CV Employment Status

Candidate	Mean (Standard Error)	95% CI		Mean Rating Equivalent
		Lower Bound	Upper Bound	
Female U6-	4.24 (.09)	4.06	4.41	Agree
Male U6-	3.96 (.09)	3.79	4.13	Neither agree nor disagree
Male U6+	3.92 (.09)	3.75	4.09	Neither agree nor disagree
Male Employed	3.81 (.09)	3.64	3.98	Neither agree nor disagree
Female Employed	3.59 (.09)	3.41	3.76	Neither agree nor disagree
Female U6+	3.48 (.09)	3.31	3.65	Neither agree nor disagree

Willing to work hard

Results showed a significant effect of employment status, and an interaction between sex of the candidate and employment status, on ratings of candidates' willingness to work hard (see Table 12). Although the unemployed female was rated significantly higher than all the other candidates, the differences were very small and all ratings were in the 'neither agree nor disagree' range, that is, between *M* = 3.19 (*SD* = .06) and *M* = 3.41 (*SD* = .06). Significant random intercept variance was found (see Table 12).

Table 12

Fixed Effects of Predictors on Willing to Work Hard Ratings

Parameter	Estimate	Standard Error	t-value
Fixed Effects			
Sex of Candidate			
Male	.05	.05	1.02
CV Employment Status			
Employed	.05	.05	1.02
U6-	.21**	.05	4.39
Interaction Sex of Candidate * CV employment Status			
Male Employed	-.11	.07	-1.55
Male U6-	-.18**	.07	-2.69
Variance Components			
Random intercept variance	.14**	.02	
Residual variance	.08**	.01	

Females and the Unemployed > 6 months (U6+) were reference groups. Male indicates the difference between men and women. Employed indicates the difference between Employed and U6+. Unemployed < 6 months (U6-) indicates the difference between U6- and U6+. *p < .05, **p < .01.

Discussion

The aim of the present study was to test whether unemployed job candidates would be discriminated against at the screening stage of a job application process in New Zealand, taking into account the duration of their unemployment and their gender. Hiring professionals' level of PWE and PI were also tested as potential influences of their attitudes towards the unemployed.

Unemployment Status as a Screening Device (H1 and H2)

The short-term unemployed were ranked significantly higher and were significantly more likely to be invited to an interview than the long-term unemployed and the employed. Moreover, there were no significant differences between the long-term unemployed and the employed; thus Hypothesis 1, suggesting that hiring professionals are likely to rank employed applicants higher than unemployed applicants; and Hypothesis 2, suggesting that hiring professionals are more likely to invite employed applicants to a job interview than unemployed applicants, were not supported.

Interestingly, it seems that participants were not consciously aware, or at least did not explicitly state, that some of the candidates were unemployed. Pilot testing of the survey by a former recruitment and selection professional had highlighted that the candidates' employment status was not obvious, thus employment dates were made bold in all the CVs to make them more obvious, but this may not have proven sufficient. Participants may not have noticed some of the candidates' unemployment status – the manipulation check question "please describe what you think this research is about?" did not reveal any comments about unemployment being the subject of the study.

However, participants may have noticed the unemployment status but may not have considered it of particular relevance to the task of selecting a suitable candidate for the job,

either because they do not have a conscious or unconscious bias against the unemployed, or perhaps because the candidates were all perceived as competent. All candidates were highly educated with relevant skills and work experience, which may have compensated for any negative effects of current unemployment.

Additionally, any employment gaps – which are important information to employers – were clearly explained. Although such gaps related to re-training rather than unemployment, it was important to clarify them.

Thus, the high level of knowledge, skill and experience displayed on the CVs may have prevented participants from paying attention to the unemployment status - and unconsciously blaming candidates for their unemployment – which in turn may have resulted in participants not negatively evaluating the unemployed candidates' CVs compared to employed candidates.

Signalling effect of Long-Term Unemployment (H3 and H4)

The short-term unemployed were ranked higher and more likely to be invited to a job interview than the long-term unemployed; thus supporting Hypothesis 3, which suggests that hiring professionals are likely to rank short-term unemployed applicants higher than long-term unemployed applicants; and Hypothesis 4, which suggests that hiring professionals are more likely to invite short-term unemployed applicants to a job interview than long-term unemployed applicants. Findings here appear positive for highly skilled unemployed candidates' chances of reemployment – regardless of their duration of unemployment – since neither the unemployment status nor the duration of unemployment seem to have had an effect on recruiters' evaluations. This may be due to employers or recruitment agents seeing current unemployment as a signal that the candidate is ready to start work at any time since he/she does not require to negotiate with their current employer. Alternatively, participants may not have noticed the candidates' employment status at all.

Interaction between Sex of the Candidate and CV Employment Status (H5 and H6)

In terms of sex of the candidate, the female applicant was ranked higher than the male applicant in the short-term unemployment condition only; thus partly supporting Hypothesis 5, which suggests that hiring professionals are likely to rank female unemployed applicants higher than male unemployed applicants; and Hypothesis 6, which suggests that hiring professionals are more likely to invite female unemployed applicants to an interview than male unemployed applicants.

A significant effect of sex of the candidate was found for invitation to interview ratings, with male candidates rated higher than female candidates. This was particularly surprising since the majority of participants were female – although gender of the participants was controlled for and did not have a significant influence on rankings and invite ratings. This preference for male candidates may be due to enduring gender stereotypes, such as men as breadwinners and women as caregivers (Blustein, 2013). Such gender roles are slow to change despite women entering the workforce in greater numbers and contributing much more economically than in previous decades. Thus, when dealing with job loss, women are likely to consider two options, such as staying in the labour force (i.e. looking for work) or exiting the labour force (e.g. taking the role of care-giver); whereas men are less likely to consider exiting the labour force to assume the role of care-giver (Young, 2012).

Due to these gender stereotypes, both men and women may still unconsciously perceive that male candidates – regardless of employment status – are under more pressure to be successful at work to fulfil their gender role, which may contribute to both male and female recruiters unconsciously assuming that a male worker would be more productive and committed than a female worker. Figures from Statistics New Zealand (Statistics New Zealand, 2015b) confirm that there are more unemployed women (6.6%) than unemployed men (5.6%), perhaps due to some gender bias.

Additionally, women are not always supportive of other women in the workplace. Research has found that minority group members who become successful do not necessarily support members of their in-group to overcome adversity and become successful themselves. Rather than climbing the corporate ladder and lifting other women (to higher positions), some women 'climb and kick' other women off the ladder (Carbado & Gulati, 2004; Kaiser & Spalding, 2015), because gender identity becomes less salient for successful women who have made it in a male environment. Thus, some successful women try to 'blend in' – within a male environment – once they have reached the top.

An interaction was found between sex of the candidate and employment status, which (unexpectedly) favoured the short-term unemployed female – who had higher ranking and invite ratings than both male and female employed candidates. All of the male candidates had consistently higher rankings and invite ratings than the other two female candidates (i.e. employed and U6+), thus gender bias appears to have played a role in participants' evaluations. Overall, male candidates were preferred to female candidates – except the short-term unemployed female who was ranked and rated the highest (ahead of all the males) – which suggests that female candidates need to be perceived as offering much more than male candidates if they are to be successful in hiring decisions. These findings also suggest that being short-term unemployed rather than employed or long-term unemployed would be advantageous for women applying for jobs.

There were differences in perceived ability between candidates, with the short-term unemployed female being rated the most able. Thus, additional analyses were carried out to ascertain whether this difference in perceived ability had an influence on candidate evaluation. Mixed linear model analyses of ranking and invite were conducted with the addition of ability as a control variable. However, no significant interactions with the conditions were found. That is, despite the short-term unemployed female's ability having no

influence on rankings and invite to interview ratings, her CV was perceived as far superior compared to the other candidates' CVs. Perhaps her particular set of employment and experiences set her apart. On the other hand, the three male candidates were deemed more competent than the other two female candidates despite all CVs showing similar credentials; a finding that is consistent with prior research, which found that men were assessed as more competent than women even when their performance was the same (Foschi, Lai, & Sigerson, 1994).

Candidates' Individual Employability Factors (H7)

CVs were carefully constructed to match the requirements of a fictitious job in order to determine whether the main manipulated variable (i.e. employment status) influenced hiring professionals' evaluations of the candidates'' employability, such as their R.A.W. factor ratings – being 'Rewarding to deal with', 'Able to do the job', and 'Willing to work hard' (Hogan et al., 2013). As expected, participants were undecided with regards to candidates being rewarding to deal with, with mean ratings close to 3 (i.e. 'neither agree nor disagree'). In terms of candidates being willing to work hard, ratings were similar for all candidates, although participants showed a slight preference for the short-term unemployed female. These results show that the CVs were constructed in a way that successfully masked the employability factors 'Rewarding to deal with' and 'Willing to work hard'. In contrast, and unexpectedly, participants did not rate all candidates' Ability as equal, with participants on average selecting 'agree' for the short-term unemployed female's ability to do the job, and 'neither agree nor disagree' for all other candidates; thus Hypothesis 7a, suggesting that candidates in this study will be rated as equally rewarding to deal with; and 7c, suggesting that candidates are all willing to work hard, were supported. However, Hypothesis 7b, which suggests that all candidates will be rated as equally able to do the job, was not supported.

There may have been differences in the CVs, which influenced participant rankings and invitation to interview ratings – despite the pilot test indicating that all candidates were of similar quality and all equally likely to be invited to an interview. In the main study, participants were 'likely' to invite the short-term unemployed female and male candidates. However, the long-term unemployed and employed males were only 'somewhat likely' to be invited, and participants were 'undecided' about inviting the long-term unemployed female and the employed female.

Although all candidates were highly educated in the required subject areas (e.g. knowledge of teaching, business or psychology), and had several years of experience in those areas, some candidates were perceived as not being as good a fit as others for the position of Training & Development Specialist. The analysis of qualitative data (see Appendix H for details of *Additional Questions*) showed that the least preferred candidates were assessed as lacking relevant experience (for example in HR or adult training) compared to other candidates**.** Thus, although the pilot CVs were independently appraised as being of similar quality, it is possible that there were differences in terms of work experience that were apparent to the participants. Moreover, recruiters are wary about making errors when selecting candidates, and tend to place more weight on negative rather than positive information about the candidate (Karren & Sherman, 2012).

Control Variables

Protestant Work Ethic

PWE was added as a covariate because an individual high in PWE associates success with individual effort rather than with personal circumstances or external factors (Levy et al., 2006; Prilleltensky & Stead, 2013). Thus, participants high in PWE were hypothesised as more likely to blame the unemployed (i.e. the 'victims') for their unemployment (W. Ryan,

1971) – that is, inferring that the unemployed are lazy or incompetent. However, results showed that controlling for PWE did not reveal any significant effect or interaction in terms of ranking and invite to interview intentions, thus showing that participants' level of PWE did not influence selection outcomes.

Participants' levels of PWE were average, with a mean of 3.38 (i.e. neither low nor high), but results showed a wide range of scores (i.e. between 1.91 and 4.94 on a 6-point scale). Thus, a larger participant sample may have revealed more significant differences in PWE between participants.

Political Ideology

PI was added as a covariate because it has been shown to predict candidate preference (Pratto et al., 1994), and conservatives are more likely to blame individuals rather than the situation for what happens to them (i.e. unemployment in this case). However, results showed that participants' level of PI did not significantly influence candidate ranking and invite intentions. Most participants scored an average of 3.78 (out of 7), with scores ranging from 1 to 6. Thus, again, such as a large spread of scores would show significant differences between participants if there were any, providing that the sample was larger. Alternatively, the lack of influence of PI perhaps suggests that being liberal or conservative may have different implications in New Zealand than in the US. For example, since New Zealand is a social welfare state (i.e. different from the US model), New Zealanders may be more understanding about the unpredictability of working life for all workers – with the possibility of becoming unemployed regardless of skill level.

Although candidates' employment status and gender, and participants' levels of PWE and PI were tested in this study, other pertinent factors are worth investigating in future research, such as factors that affect hiring professionals personally, as will be examined below.

Limitations and Suggestions for Future Research

It is likely that recruiters in a real selection setting would have examined more than six CVs for this job opening. Indeed, the position of Training & Development Specialist is not too highly specialised and would have attracted a lot of interest from job applicants. Thus, although this study's instructions did not request the reduction of the CV list down to a shortlist for the interview, there may have been a tendency by hiring professionals to screen some CVs out regardless of the number of CVs in front of them. This was evident when examining participants' explanations of their choice of candidates to invite to an interview – with many participants stating that they would only interview two or three candidates for any job. Results showed that only two out of six candidates (i.e. short-term unemployed female and male) were likely to be invited to an interview.

The job candidates' unemployment status may have gone unnoticed in this study. Thus, future research may benefit from the unemployment status being made clearer to participants, perhaps by including a short cover letter. An additional manipulation check question, such as "did you notice that the CVs had a different employment status?" would also clarify whether the unemployment status of candidates was noticed or not.

The design of the study downplayed individual differences between participants since it was a within-subjects design. As such, all the participants were given the same six treatments (i.e. same introductory questions, job description/person specification (JD/PS), CVs, ranking and invitation to interview ratings x 6 candidates). A between-subjects design, where participants are placed in different groups, would allow the examination of different treatments (e.g. one group may view only employed CVs, while the other group may view only unemployed CVs). However, this study's methods and findings provide practical steps and ideas for the construction of a between-subjects study in future.

Additionally, candidates were not perceived as being of equal fit for the position of Training and Development Specialist, so future studies will need to ensure that the CV content is the same for each employment status condition, if part of a between-subjects design as mentioned above.

Nevertheless, the present study contributes to research on discrimination against the unemployed in several ways. First, this study was conducted in New Zealand, a country that legally prohibits the discrimination of the unemployed (1993). As such, findings allow for comparisons to be made with countries (e.g. United States) that allow such unemployment discrimination to occur.

Although fictitious CVs and JD/PS cannot replace information about real-life candidates and job openings, they were carefully constructed to match industry-recognised competencies for a Training & Development Specialist (O*Net, 2015). Thus, the CV screening experience was made as 'real-life' as possible within the constraints of an experiment.

It is also the first New Zealand study to empirically examine the difference between recruiter evaluations of unemployed versus employed job candidates at the CV screening stage of a job application process. The construction of CVs and a JD/PS in this study made it possible to have control over the experimental variables – candidates' gender and employment status. Although the CVs and JD/PS were fictitious, all participants examined the same set of CVs against the same JD/PS, which allowed for within-subject (i.e. R.A.W., ranking and invite) as well as between-subject analyses (e.g. influence of participants' level of PWE, PI, and gender). The use of a mixed linear model also allowed for the exploration of variation in overall scores between participants.

With regards to other avenues for future research, attitudes towards the unemployed may be influenced by individual preferences for redistribution (e.g. policy measures aimed at

providing financial assistance to the unemployed) (Margalit, 2013; Marx, 2014) rather than solely by political affiliation (i.e. PI). Since redistribution involves a financial cost to the taxpayer, individuals may adjust their overall attitude towards the unemployed depending on whether they feel that the cost of helping them financially is justified. Marx (2014) found that an individual's job insecurity partly explained those preferences for redistribution, although this was moderated by employability perceptions. For example, an individual who believes that they are highly likely to lose their job (high job insecurity) will be more likely to support redistribution. However, this depends on how much they believe that they would quickly find a new job (i.e. how employable they are) in the event that they were displaced. Margalit (2013) also found that political affiliation did not fully explain policy preferences. Thus, future research could examine whether hiring professionals' job insecurity and perceptions of their own employability explain their attitude towards the unemployed.

Research has found that the experience of hardship (especially losing one's job) had a large impact on support for redistribution (Margalit, 2013), with individuals more likely to support redistribution if they had personally experienced hardship. Thus, future research could examine whether job insecurity, perceptions of one's own employability, and the personal experience of hardship affect hiring professionals' perceptions of the unemployed. Hiring professionals who enjoy high perceived job security, high employability, and who have never suffered hardship, may not be as understanding of the long-term unemployed – because they may perceive the unemployed as dissimilar to them – and may be less likely to give an unemployed job candidate the chance to be interviewed.

Implications

The findings in this study indicate that the quality of highly skilled job candidates is more noticeable than their unemployment status. Thus, participants did not use the candidates' employment status as a signal of candidates' productivity, which is good news for highly skilled workers who (as many other workers) may find themselves unemployed several times during their working lives due to globalisation and advances in technology.

Much research about unemployment discrimination has taken place in the US, making it a salient country to compare New Zealand to in the context of this study. However, these two countries differ considerably in several ways with regards to redistribution and law policies. First, New Zealand provides a 52-week unemployment insurance and a legal framework prohibiting the discrimination of any individual for 'being unemployed', whereas the US only provide a 26-week unemployment insurance, as well as anti unemployment-discrimination law in only four states. Moreover, to be considered unemployed in the US, individuals must have been in the job that they lost for at least three years (Gowan, 2014), whereas no such criterion exists in New Zealand (New Zealand Work and Income, 2015). Prior research has also found large differences in attitudes between the US and Europe with regards to success; with Americans much more likely to believe that effort (rather than luck) determined their income (Bénabou & Tirole, 2006). It is possible that New Zealanders' attitudes are more similar to Europeans' than to Americans' attitudes.

Despite the absence of clear evidence of discrimination (on the grounds of employment status) against the highly skilled unemployed in the current study, it is still important for psychologists, health and employment professionals to consider ways to help the unemployed of all levels of skill and experience, and for job seekers and hiring professionals alike to be aware of potential unconscious biases against the unemployed, so that unemployed persons may be supported in their job search and subsequent reemployment.

Job loss may result in the unemployed suffering from financial strain (whether this strain is real or subjective), physical and psychological distress, and a lack of confidence in their ability to up-skill or find new work. Thus, rather than focusing solely on job search training, the unemployed could benefit from self-efficacy and resilience training, especially in groups experiencing higher unemployment, such as young people (Coppin & Clark, 2015). Moreover, stress reduction techniques through mindfulness have been found to help the unemployed feel more confident about finding a job (De Jong, Hommes, Brouwers, & Tomic, 2013). Motivational interviewing has also been found to help ambivalent job seekers progress through the different stages of reemployment (i.e. preparation, job search and staying employed) (Britt, Sawatzky, & Swibaker, 2015).

Policies must also tackle poverty among the unemployed, so that their social participation is not weaker while they are out of work. Indeed, participating socially, especially in informal networks (e.g. being the member of a club or organisation), requires adequate financial resources; and such networks are critical for successful reemployment, because they provide a chance to hear first-hand about job opportunities before they are advertised, if at all (Dieckhoff & Gash, 2015).

Even upon reemployment, an enduring loss of earnings may continue to put individuals at an unfair disadvantage. Therefore, despite pressure to remain competitive, employers have a responsibility to compensate anyone fairly at the market rate, whether they have just experienced unemployment or not.

The future of work is unlikely to comprise employment without periods of unemployment. Thus, career advice professionals, hiring professionals and workers alike can benefit from being aware of the influence of potential earnings losses following unemployment, as well as potential biases and discrimination. Understanding the attitudes associated with unemployment – particularly with regards to the unemployed being

erroneously perceived as lazy, not trying hard enough, or incompetent – is one way to help individuals have access to, or regain the many psychological benefits that employment offers. Another way is to understand that employability also encompasses personal circumstances and external factors, rather than focusing solely on individual factors. Knowing that candidates should be perceived as rewarding to deal with, able to do the job, and willing to work hard, may help the unemployed to showcase these qualities in their CV, so that they have a better chance of being invited to an interview.

Blustein (2006) suggests helping the unemployed in three ways, such as understanding how the unemployed have mentally constructed their job loss; helping them to increase their skills in areas related to the work they are seeking and helping with job searching; and developing systems that support and provide resources for the unemployed. To this end, Ali, Fall, and Hoffman (2013) propose that organisational psychologists partner with local job centres, where unemployed individuals need them the most.

Most unemployed persons would prefer to work, because the psychological benefits of working are important not only to themselves, but also to their families. Moreover, the benefits of working do spill over to the communities in which workers live, and eventually to the whole economy. Thus, providing psychological support to the unemployed may be the missing piece in the range of support currently offered to the unemployed. Mental health is increasingly promoted here, giving New Zealand a real opportunity to enhance its work on the protection of the unemployed by creating communities of practice (e.g. career advice professionals, hiring professionals, and clinical and organisational psychologists) focused on helping the long-term unemployed to cope with job loss and bounce forward, and ensuring that the unemployed of all job levels and ability have access to resources for a successful career.

Concluding Remarks

To conclude, the evaluation of highly skilled job candidates in a New Zealand context was influenced by sex of the applicant rather than their unemployment status. Thus, New Zealand hiring professionals did not appear to use unemployment status as a screening device, but further research is needed to test whether discrimination for being unemployed would occur at lower job levels. Gender equality must also be promoted in the workplace, since gender bias seems to be more of an issue than bias against the long-term unemployed, at least for higher job levels. In their role as gate-keepers between candidates and organisations, hiring professionals are ideally placed to promote diversity and inclusion in the workplace, and to have a positive impact on jobseeker outcomes.

Links to Websites

Career Development Association of New Zealand (CDANZ). http://www.cdanz.org.nz/

Human Resources Institute of New Zealand (HRINZ). http://www.hrinz.org.nz/

Industrial Organisational Network (IOnet). http://organisationalpsychology.nz/

LinkedIn. https://nz.linkedin.com/

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Appendix A

Statistics New Zealand's Definitions of Labour Market Terms

Working age population	the usually resident (expecting to live in New Zealand for more than 12 months), non-institutionalised, civilian population of New Zealand aged 15 years and over who live in private dwellings. Working-age population excludes overseas diplomats, their families and staff.
Labour Force	the working-age population who during the survey reference week were classified as 'employed' (including self-employed) or 'unemployed'.
Labour Force Participation Rate	total labour force (i.e. the number of employed and unemployed) expressed as a percentage of the working-age population.
People Employed	all people in the working-age population who, during the reference week: worked for one hour or more for pay or profit in the context of an employee/employer relationship or self-employment; worked without pay for one hour or more in work that contributes directly to farm, business, or professional practice operation owned or operated by a relative; in a job but were not at work due to: their own illness or injury, personal or family responsibilities, bad weather or mechanical breakdown, direct involvement in an industrial dispute, or leave or holiday.
People Unemployed	all people in the working-age population who, during the reference week: were without a paid job; were available for work, and; either actively sought work in the four weeks ending with the reference week, or had a job to start within the next four weeks.
Unemployment Rate	number of unemployed people expressed as a percentage of the labour force.
Jobless	people who are either officially unemployed, available but not seeking work (including 'seeking through newspaper only', 'discouraged', and 'other' categories), or actively seeking but not available for work.
Not in the Labour Force	anyone in the working-age population who is neither employed nor unemployed, including people who: are retired; have personal or family responsibilities such as unpaid housework and childcare; attend educational institutions; are permanently unable to work due to physical or mental disabilities; are temporarily unavailable for work in the survey reference week, are not actively seeking work.

Source: Statistics New Zealand (2014)

Appendix B

Sample Advertisement

Dear XXXXX

Thank you for agreeing to participate in HRINZ's research option.

You are invited to participate in research being conducted by Corinne Lucas-D'Souza, student in the Master of Science in Applied Psychology programme at the University of Canterbury.

'First Impressions Count: impact of C.V. on recruiters' perceptions of candidates' employability'

Background: The research is focusing on what Recruitment and Selection professionals pay attention to when they first review a job applicant's C.V. We welcome participation from current and former Recruitment and Selection professionals (both internal and external) who are recruiting for jobs based in New Zealand.

The survey should take no longer than 30 minutes to complete. Participants will go into a draw for a chance to win an iPad Air 2.

We recommend using a desktop or laptop computer, or tablet. Mobile phones may not be suitable due to their screen size.

The survey is open now and will close on Friday, 04 September 2015.

Begin survey here

Members who participate in the research may request a copy of the research findings. Throughout the study and in reporting any results, anonymity is guaranteed. Research participants will not be identifiable in any way.

If you have any questions about the study, please contact **Corinne Lucas-D'Souza directly.**

On behalf of the research team, Corinne would like to thank you for giving your time to participate in this study.

Kind regards,

HRINZ

Appendix C

Information Sheet

First impressions count: impact of CV on recruiters' perceptions of candidates' employability.

Information for Participants

Thank you very much for participating in this research as a **Recruitment and Selection professional**.
This research is being conducted by Corinne Lucas-D'Souza, student in the MSc in Applied Psychology programme at the University of Canterbury.
Our goal is to help job applicants to present themselves in a way that will maximise their chances of being shortlisted for an interview. Because initial CV screening for job openings is likely to be short in duration, we are interested in finding out what aspects of candidates' CVs affect potential employers' first impressions. You will be asked to imagine that you are recruiting for a job opening (all job information will be provided), and to assess how the CVs presented manage to convince you about the candidates' potential.
This study should take no longer than 30 minutes to complete. After you have submitted the questionnaire you will be redirected to a separate survey for a chance to **win an iPad Air 2**. Please be assured that your responses are **completely anonymous** and no information provided can be linked back to you.
If you are interested in the project results please request a copy of the results by sending an email to corinne.lucas-dsouza@pg.canterbury.ac.nz

Participation is voluntary and you have the **right to withdraw at any stage without penalty**. You may withdraw by closing your browser, and the researcher will remove information relating to your responses. By completing and submitting the questionnaire it will be understood that you have consented to participate in the project.
The results of the project may be published, but you may be assured of the complete anonymity of data gathered in this investigation. To ensure anonymity, **no information will be requested that may identify you in any way**. Only the researcher and her supervisors will have access to the data collected, which will be stored on a password-protected computer. Data will be destroyed after a period of five years. A thesis is a public document and will be available through the UC Library.
The project is being carried out as a requirement for the Master of Science in Applied Psychology by Corinne Lucas-D'Souza under the supervision of Associate Professor Katharina Naswall, who can be contacted at katharina.naswall@canterbury.ac.nz. Katharina will be pleased to discuss any concerns you may have about participation in the project.
This project has been reviewed and approved by the University of Canterbury Human Ethics Committee, and participants should address any complaints to The Chair, Human Ethics Committee, University of Canterbury, Private Bag 4800, Christchurch (human-ethics@canterbury.ac.nz).

Thank you again for your participation.

Corinne Lucas-D'Souza

Appendix D

Debrief Sheet

You have just participated in a study examining how hiring professionals evaluate job applicants' CVs. Though we were generally interested in this topic, we had interests that we were unable to tell you about until now. Specifically, the aim of this study was to examine whether applicants' employment status affects how they are evaluated at the screening stage of the job application process.

There are several reasons why we withheld this information from you. First, research shows that people tend to answer questions in a way that would be most desirable to the researcher. Second, research also shows that certain beliefs held by individuals may influence their evaluation of others. For example, individuals who believe that anyone can succeed may think that the unemployed have not tried hard enough to find a job. Third, we did not make the employment status of the candidates obvious, to avoid conscious/unconscious stereotypes from surfacing, and because we wanted participants to rate candidates on the quality of their CV rather than on the duration of their unemployment spells. Fourth, research shows that people are more accepting of a woman having unemployment spells than a man.

Therefore, we wanted to test whether hiring professionals' decisions are affected by (1) their beliefs about work (2) the employment status of the job candidate, (3) the duration of any unemployment spells of the job candidate (i.e. more or less than 6 months), (4) and the gender of the job candidate.

The purpose of this study is not to expose biases but to help unemployed job candidates create CVs that highlight their skills, abilities, and value to an employer, in order to maximise their chances of successfully finding employment.

This project has been reviewed and approved by the University of Canterbury Human Ethics Committee, and participants should address any complaints to The Chair, Human Ethics Committee, University of Canterbury, Private Bag 4800, Christchurch (human-ethics@canterbury.ac.nz).

Please note that there is no obligation for you to submit your responses at this point. If you do not wish to continue, you may withdraw from the study now by closing your browser.

If you do decide to submit your responses, then please click on the 'Next' button below. If you are interested in learning more about the study or hearing about the results of the study, please feel free to contact Corinne Lucas-D'Souza on corinne.lucas-dsouza@pg.canterbury.ac.nz

Thank you again for your participation!

To submit your responses please click 'Next' below.

Appendix E.1.

Survey Questions

Common Questions 1

Part 1

- Are you (or were you) recruiting for jobs based in New Zealand?
- What is your gender?
- What is your age?
- What is your educational level?
- What is your religion?
- Which ethnic group do you belong to?
- Do you **currently** work in Recruitment & Selection?
- When did you **last** work in Recruitment & Selection?
- Thinking about your **Recruitment & Selection role, what type of organisation** do you (did you) work for?
- **What area** of Recruitment & Selection do you work for?
- What industry are you recruiting job candidates for?
- How long have you been in **paid employment (total)**?
- How long have you worked specifically in **Recruitment & Selection**?
- Have you worked in a Human Resources capacity other than Recruitment & Selection?
- What is your **current** employment status?
- How long have you worked in your **current** organisation?
- Is screening job candidates your main role in your current position?
- What job application format do you use to screen applicants?
- How often do you screen CVs?

Part 2

- The following questions related to your opinions about work in general [Protestant Work Ethic (Katz & Hass, 1988)]
- The following questions relate to your political opinions [Political-economic conservatism (Pratto et al., 1994)]

Part 3 – CV Screening [CVs counterbalanced]

- The following is information about the organisation and job you are being asked to recruit a candidate for. Please imagine that you are recruiting **now** for a job starting date of **1st October 2015** [link to job description/Person Specification].

- The following are **shortened** CVs of the individuals who applied for the job of Training & Development Specialist. Please **assess** the content of the CVs to determine the **value** of each candidate for the position of Training & Development Specialist, and answer questions about each candidate. Once all the questions have been answered, please consider all the CVs and **rank** them in order of preference (the CVs will appear together at the end and instructions will be given on how to rank them).

- Please review the following CV [one example below – presented randomly] and answer questions below.

Natalie Wood

Career Overview:

2012 - 2014	Hydraulics Inc, Wellington	Health & Safety Trainer
2010 - 2011	Howard Training & Consulting	Account Manager
2006 - 2009	Victoria University, Wellington	Student
2005	Wellington City Libraries	Librarian

Health & Safety Trainer

- Conducting needs assessments
- Conducting supplier audits
- Designing and creating learning programmes
- Delivering/facilitating learning programmes
- Supporting trainees to ensure successful training transfer
- Able to deliver classroom, individual, or webinar training
- Responsible for on-boarding programme

Account Manager

- Responsible for portfolio of existing clients (across various industry sectors)
- Conducting client needs assessments and training evaluations
- Administration (estimating, costing, invoicing)

Librarian

- Specialist advisor on English literature
- Designing and delivering 'English literature Special Events'
- Running library tours for users with special interests

Education:

- Victoria University, Wellington:
  2008-2009 Master of Science (Psychology)
  2006-2007 Graduate Diploma in Science (Psychology)
  2002-2004 Bachelor of Arts (English Literature)

  Industry Training New Zealand:
  2011 National Certificate in Occupational Health and Safety - Workplace Safety (Level 3)

Contact Details:
xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx
xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx

- Looking at the CV you have just reviewed above, please indicate how much you agree or disagree with each statement about the candidate:
  - This person will make a good team member
  - This person possesses the right skills to do the job
  - This person is a hard worker
  - I can see this person having good relationships at work
  - This person is well qualified for the job
  - This person has a strong work ethic

Common Questions 2

- The following are all the CVs you have just reviewed. They are presented together in one file, to give you a chance to review them all before ranking them in order of preference, and deciding whether you would invite the job candidates for an interview for the job of Training & Development Specialist [Combined CVs file presented].

- Having reviewed all the above CVs, please rank the candidate in order of preference for the job of Training & Development Specialist by clicking on the appropriate circle. Please choose a **DIFFERENT ranking** for **each candidate**.

- Having reviewd all the above CVs, how likely would you be to **invite** each candidate for a job interview?

Appendix E.2.

Demographic Characteristics of Participant Sample

Education	
Bachelor's degree	50%
Post-graduate degree	32.9%
Diploma/certificate	8.6%
High school qualification	4.3%
PhD	1.4%
Other type of qualification	2.9%
Religion	
no religion	61.8%
Christian	29.4%
Other religion	5.9%
Buddhist	1.5%
Muslim	1.5%
Type of Sector	
Private sector	65.7%
Public not-for-profit sector	18.6%
Public for profit sector	11.4%
Other type of sector	4.3%
Work Type	
Worked in an HR capacity other than R&S	78.6%
Working full-time	81.4%
Working part-time	12.9%
Other type of worker	4.3%
Casual workers	1.4%
Type of Industry recruiting for (multiple choice)	
Manufacturing	24.3%
Financial and Insurance Services	24.3%
Professional, Scientific, Technical, Administrative and Support Services	21.4%
Construction	18.6%
Transport, Postal and Warehousing	14.3%
Information Media and Telecommunications	14.3%
Retail Trade and Accommodation	12.9%
Other	12.9%
Education and Training	11.4%
Healthcare and Social Assistance	11.4%
Wholesale Trade	11.4%
Electricity, Gas, Water and Waste Services	10%
Agriculture, Forestry and Fishing	8.6%
Arts, Recreation and Other Services	8.6%

Rental, Hiring and Real Estate Services	7.1%
Public Administration and Safety	7.1%
Mining	1.4
Frequency of CV Screening	
Daily	21.4%
2-3 times a week	27.1%
Once a week	8.6%
2-3 times a month	15.7%
Once a month	10%
Less than once a month	17.1%

Appendix F

Aotearoa Training & Learning

JOB DESCRIPTION - PERSON SPECIFICATION			
Job Title:	Training & Development Specialist	**Level/Salary Range:**	Negotiable depending on experience
Location:	Christchurch	**Position Type:**	Full-time
Start Date: 1st October 2015			
Aotearoa Training and Learning is a world-class consultancy dedicated to facilitating training and learning in small to large organisations, both in private and public sectors. We pride ourselves in applying the latest L&D research to create and deliver effective solutions for our clients. We believe that collaboration is what drives innovation so we get together regularly as a team to discuss our projects. Our clients love our enthusiasm, can-do attitude and ability to think outside the square!			
Position Purpose:	As a Training & Development Specialist you will: • assess the training needs of our clients through surveys, interviews with employees, focus groups, or consultation with managers, or instructors. • design, plan, organize, or direct orientation and training programs for clients. • offer specific training programs to help workers maintain or improve job skills. • present information using a variety of instructional techniques or formats, such as role playing, simulations, team exercises, group discussions, videos, or lectures. • obtain, organize, or develop training procedure manuals, guides, or course materials, such as handouts or visual materials.		
Education & Experience:	**Tertiary Qualification** in training and development, human resources, education, instructional design, business or social sciences (e.g. educational or organizational psychology) is required. **Work experience** in training and development, instructional design, or teaching is essential.		
Knowledge:	**Education and Training** — Knowledge of principles and methods for curriculum and training design, teaching and instruction for individuals and groups, and the measurement of training effects. **English Language** — a high level of written and spoken English. **Customer and Personal Service** — Customer needs assessment, meeting quality standards for services, and evaluation of customer satisfaction. **Administration and Management** — Business and management principles involved in strategic planning, resource allocation, human resources modelling, leadership technique, production methods, and coordination of people and resources. **Personnel and Human Resources** — Knowledge of principles and procedures for personnel recruitment, selection, training, compensation and benefits, labour relations and negotiation, and personnel information systems.		
Skills:	Effective speaker & instructor, uses active listening & appropriate learning strategies to suit different learning styles. Monitors and assesses performance of self, other individuals, or organizations to make improvements or take corrective action.		
Abilities:	Communicates information and ideas clearly both orally and in writing. Able to listen to and understand information and ideas presented orally and in writing. Speaks clearly so others can understand.		
What *YOU* bring:	You are pleasant and known for your ability to cooperate with others. Because you are reliable, responsible, and dependable, you always fulfill your obligations. Your adaptability means that you are open to change and to considerable variety in clients' workplaces. You value autonomy and creativity. You embrace challenges and are results-oriented, always striving to exceed clients' expectations.		

Appendix G.1.

CVs

Natalie Wood

Career Overview:

2012 - 2014	Hydraulics Inc, Wellington	Health & Safety Trainer
2010 - 2011	Howard Training & Consulting	Account Manager
2006 - 2009	Victoria University, Wellington	Student
2005	Wellington City Libraries	Librarian

Health & Safety Trainer

- Conducting needs assessments
- Conducting supplier audits
- Designing and creating learning programmes
- Delivering/facilitating learning programmes
- Supporting trainees to ensure successful training transfer
- Able to deliver classroom, individual, or webinar training
- Responsible for on-boarding programme

Account Manager

- Responsible for portfolio of existing clients (across various industry sectors)
- Conducting client needs assessments and training evaluations
- Administration (estimating, costing, invoicing)

Librarian

- Specialist advisor on English literature
- Designing and delivering 'English literature Special Events'
- Running library tours for users with special interests

Education:

- Victoria University, Wellington:
  - **2008-2009** Master of Science (Psychology)
  - **2006-2007** Graduate Diploma in Science (Psychology)
  - **2002-2004** Bachelor of Arts (English Literature)

Industry Training New Zealand:

2011 National Certificate in Occupational Health and Safety - Workplace Safety (Level 3)

Contact Details:

xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx
xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx

Appendix G.2.

John Ashford

Contact details:

xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx
xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx
xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx

Work History:

Period Employed	Name of Company	Position Held
2014 - present	Swift Communications Ltd, Auckland	Learning Coordinator
2012 - 2013	Power Systems Ltd, Wellington	Assistant Training Coordinator
2008 - 2011	Victoria University	Student
2005 - 2007	Britannia Language Services, Wellington	English Teacher

Key Skills:

- Managing learning needs assessments (through interviews and surveys)
- Working with subject matter expert to design and create learning programmes
- Creating training modules using a variety of media
- Translating technical knowledge for non-technical audiences
- Delivering both structured and trainee-led programmes
- Presenting to small or large groups
- Handling mixture of classroom, individual, and webinar training
- Providing a safe psychological environment for workplace training
- Awareness of cultural differences and attitudes to learning
- Knowledge of different learning needs and styles in a group environment

Education:

2010-2011 Master of Science (Psychology), Victoria University
2008-2009 Graduate Diploma in Science (Psychology), Victoria University
2002-2004 Bachelor of Arts (Education), University of Canterbury

Appendix G.3.

Georgia McCarthy

EMPLOYMENT

2010 - Jun 2015
Training Coordinator - New Zealand Whole Foods, Dunedin

- Managing the implementation of Kineo (multi-device e-learning) across the organisation.
- Responsible for assessing the training needs of employees in all branches of the organisation.
- Designing, planning and delivering training programmes in partnership with subject matter experts.
- Delivering both group and individual training.
- Critically analysing organisational processes and procedures to enhance the organisation's learning capability.
- Creating e-manuals and a new company webpage dedicated to learning and innovation.

2005 - 2009
Trainer - Christchurch Adult Education

- Responsible for creating and delivering class content for adult learners in business and economics.
- Conducting learning needs assessments.
- Conducting training evaluations.

EDUCATION

Master of Management (Human Resource Management) Massey University (**2007-2009**)
Postgraduate Certificate in Education (PGCertEd), University of Canterbury (**2004**)
Bachelor of Commerce (BCom), University of Canterbury (**2001-2003**)

Contact Details:
XXXXXXXXXXXXXX, XXXXXXXXXXXX

Appendix G.4.

Stephen Peters

xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx
xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx

WORK HISTORY

2011 to Jun 2015 - **Training Coordinator, Advance Learning, Dunedin**

- Coordinating a team of trainers, including allocation of projects according to specialty and trainee learning style.
- Estimating and costing projects, invoicing.
- Managing all client liaison.
- Sourcing training facilities on behalf of clients.
- Monitoring and assessing team performance.
- Assessing training needs using surveys, consultation with clients, and interviews with employees.
- Developing training guides (booklets and videos) and course materials for clients to deliver their own training.

2007 to 2010 - HR Advisor (Training & Development), New Zealand Wools, Dunedin

- Responsible for assessing training needs of all staff.
- Coordinating delivery of workshops, seminars, and off-site training.
- Managing all training design and evaluation.

2005 to 2006 - HR Assistant, Hydro-Solutions, Cromwell

- Recruitment & Selection of engineer and personnel management.

EDUCATION

2015 Kineo training (multi-device e-learning)
2003-2004 Master of Commerce in Human Resource & Industrial Relations, Victoria University
2000-2002 Bachelor of Commerce (BCom), Victoria University

Appendix G.5.

Peter Dillon

Employment History:

Learning and Development Consultant - EBS Systems Ltd, Wellington
2011- 2014

Auditing learning and development practices, organisation-wide.
Reviewing suppliers.
Designing and creating classroom, e-learning, and peer-learning programmes.
Presenting seminars on various topics.
Facilitating on-boarding workshops.
Coordinating mentoring programme.
Able to integrate research, theory and practice in a variety of settings.

Learning Support Advisor - St Marys Primary School, Auckland
2008-2010

Responsible for literacy and numeracy support throughout the whole school.
Conducting needs assessments and monitoring progress.
Working closely with colleagues to identify and remediate issues.
Creating and presenting information seminars for parents.

Teacher - Willows Intermediate School, Auckland
2004-2006

Teaching a year 8 class (2006)
Teaching a year 7 class (2005)
Teaching a year 7 class (2004)

Education:

Master of Education University of Auckland **2007**
Graduate Diploma in Teaching (Primary) University of Auckland **2003**
Bachelor of Arts (Psychology Major) University of Canterbury **2000-2002**

Appendix G.6.

Jessica Porter

Employment History:

Education/Marketing Advisor, TESOL
(Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages), CPIT Christchurch **(2013-present)**

- Responsible for carrying out learning needs assessments for all incoming students.
- Auditing and revising course content, coordinating a team of TESOL teachers.
- Regular meetings with students and international education agencies.
- Designing information seminar, video and website content for advertising.

TESOL Teacher/Advisor
English Institute, Auckland **(2010-2012)**

- Taught English to adult learners.
- Designed and created course content for classroom and online delivery.
- Assessed client organisations' training needs.
- Monitored and evaluated all training programmes.

Primary School Teacher
Seven Oaks Primary School, Palmerston North **(2006-2009)**

- Taught year 3 and 4 classes.

Teaching Assistant
Seven Oaks Primary School, Palmerston North **(2003)**

- Supported two pupils with learning difficulties in a year 2 class.

Education:
- Master of Education (Teaching and Learning), Massey University, Manawatu **(2005)**
- Graduate Diploma of Teaching (Primary), Massey University, Manawatu **(2004)**
- Bachelor of Arts (BA), Massey University, Manawatu **(2000-2002)**

Contact details:
xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx
xxxxxxxxxxxxxxx

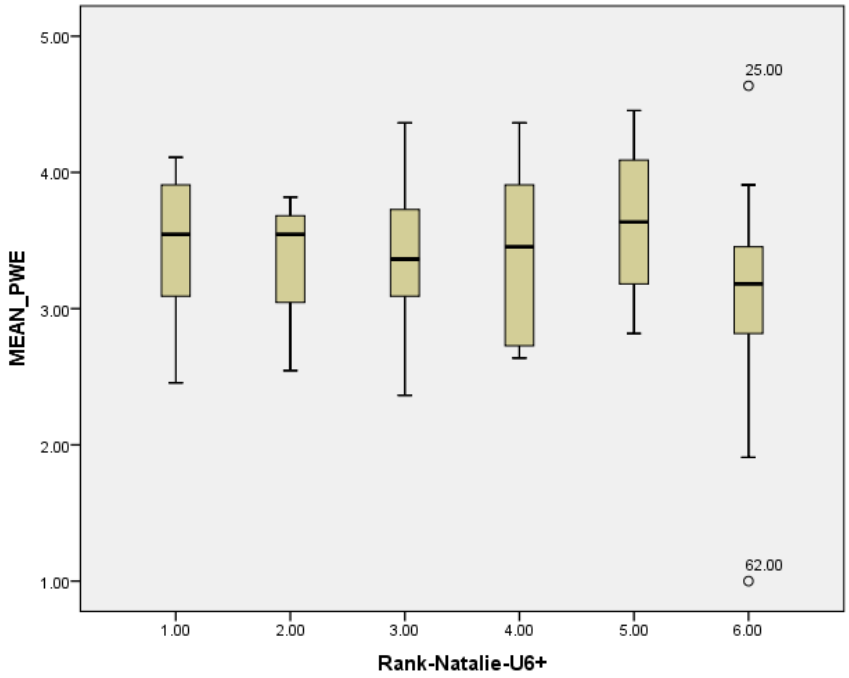
Appendix H

Additional Questions

- Please explain your **ranking** choice:
- Please explain your **invitation to interview** choice:
- In your opinion, what is the **SINGLE** most important aspect of a CV to make a good first impression?
- In your opinion, what **OTHER** aspects of a CV are important to make a good first impression?
- If you were to give someone advice on how best to prepare a CV what would it be?

Appendix I

Outlier Example Box Plot



Removal of Outlier (Case 62) - Ranking of the long-term unemployed female by PWE level

Appendix J

Fixed Effects of Predictors on Candidate Ranking with Control Variables

	No Control Variable		Control Variables					
			PWE		PI		Participant Gender	
Parameter	Est	SE	Est	SE	Est	SE	Est	SE
Fixed Effects								
Intercept	4.07**	.19	5.05**	1.13	4.36**	.68	3.50**	.79
Sex of Candidate								
Male	-.68*	.27	-2.02	1.60	-.91	.97	.77	1.12
CV Employment Status								
Employed	.31	.27	-2.70	1.60	-.05	.97	1.63	1.12
U6-	-1.63**	.27	-2.76	1.60	-2.05*	.97	-1.53	1.12
Interaction Sex of Candidate * CV Employment Status								
Male Employed	.01	.38	3.53	2.27	.22	1.37	-1.93	1.58
Male U6-	1.24**	.38	4.13	2.27	1.57	1.37	-.55	1.58
Control Variables								
Mean_PWE			-.29	.33				
Male x Mean_PWE			.39	.47				
Employed x Mean_PWE			.89^	.47				
U6- x Mean_PWE			.33	.47				
Male x Employed x Mean_PWE			-1.04	.66				
Male x U6- x Mean_PWE			-.85	.66				
Mean_PI					-.07	.17		

Male x Mean_PI					.06	.25		
Employed x Mean_PI					.10	.25		
U6- x Mean_PI					.11	.25		
Male x Employed x Mean_PI					-.05	.35		
Male x U6- x Mean_PI					-.09	.35		
Participant Gender							.33	.44
Male x Participant Gender							-.83	.62
Employed x Participant Gender							-.75	.62
U6- x Participant Gender							-.05	.62
Male x Employed x Participant Gender							1.11	.87
Male x U6- x Participant Gender							1.02	.87
Variance Components								
Random intercept variance	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Residual variance	2.49**	.17	2.46**	.17	2.49**	.17	2.47**	.17

Females and the Unemployed > 6 months (U6+) were reference groups. Male indicates the difference between men and women. Employed indicates the difference between Employed and U6+. Unemployed < 6 months (U6-) indicates the difference between U6- and U6+.
*p < .05, **p < .01, ∧ p < .10. Random intercept variance was redundant.

Appendix K

Fixed Effects of Predictors on Invitation to Interview Ratings with Control Variables

	No Control Variable		Control Variables					
			PWE		PI		Participant Gender	
Parameter	Est	SE	Est	SE	Est	SE	Est	SE
Fixed Effects								
Intercept	4.51**	.20	3.62**	1.23	2.94**	.73	5.91**	.85
Sex of Candidate								
Male	.84**	.28	1.77	1.70	1.54	1.01	-1.52	1.18
CV Employment Status								
Employed	-.58*	.28	.26	1.70	-.55	1.01	-1.14	1.18
U6-	1.61**	.29	3.82*	1.70	3.44**	1.01	.60	1.18
Interaction Sex of Candidate *								
CV Employment Status								
Male x Employed	.26	.40	-.54	2.40	1.13	1.43	2.12	1.67
Male x U6-	-1.38**	.40	-4.78*	2.40	-2.72^	1.43	1.15	1.67
Control Variables								
Mean_PWE			.26	.36				
Male x Mean_PWE			-.27	.49				
Employed x Mean_PWE			-.25	.49				
U6- x Mean_PWE			-.65	.49				
Male x Employed x Mean_PWE			.24	.70				
Male x U6- x Mean_PWE			1.00	.70				
Mean_PI					.41*	.18		
Male x Mean_PI					-.18	.26		
Employed x Mean_PI					-.01	.26		
U6- x Mean_PI					-.48^	.26		

Male x Employed x Mean_PI					-.23	.36		
Male x U6- x Mean_PI					.35	.36		
Participant Gender							-.80	.47
Male x Participant Gender							1.35*	.65
Employed x Participant Gender							.31	.65
U6- x Participant Gender							.58	.65
Male x U6- x Participant Gender							-1.44	.92
Variance Components								
Random intercept variance	.12	.10	.12	.10	.09	.10	.12	.10
Residual variance	2.77**	.21	2.75**	.21	2.72**	.20	2.73**	.21

Females and the Unemployed > 6 months (U6+) were reference groups. Male indicates the difference between men and women. Employed indicates the difference between Employed and U6+. Unemployed < 6 months (U6-) indicates the difference between U6- and U6+.
*p < .05, **p < .01, ∧ p < .10